NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. DXXVI.

SEPTEMBER, 1900.

IMPERIALISM AND CHRISTIANITY.

BY THE VERY REV. F. W. FARRAR, D. D., F. R. S., DEAN OF CANTERBURY.

In French, the word *"Impérialisme"* is used, according to Littré, to mean the opinion of "Imperialists"—that is, the opinion of those who supported the régime of the Emperor Napoleon and his successors. In English, the word "Imperialism" has the wider meaning of that view of national duty and policy which maintains that we are bound to uphold, even at the cost of war, and in spite of all hazards, the Empire over those vast regions which the Providence of God has placed under our dominion and immediate influence. Now, emergencies constantly arise amid the jealousies, ambitions and conflicting interests of nations, in which our Imperial position can only be maintained by arms. The question, therefore, arises in many minds, and presses heavily on the sensitive consciences of many earnest Christians, as to whether war—unless it be undertaken in pure self-defense—is ever justifiable. Those—and they are by no means few in number—who answer this question in the negative, usually defend their position by dwelling on the horrors of the battle-field, and asking how it can be possible for any one who professes to be bound by the

Copyright, 1900, by the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW PUBLISHING COMPANY. All rights reserved.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

precepts of the Lord of Love to take any part in the perpetration of such horrors. They deny that any approval of war can be reconciled with the faith and profession of Christians.

Let us try to meet this question fully and fairly. We must, of course, assume that any particular war is itself undertaken on just grounds. Is it, nevertheless, the duty of Christians to suffer wrong rather than have recourse to so terrible an arbitrament?

It is easy for those who hold that war is anti-Christian to draw frightful pictures of the miseries which all war must necessarily involve. They have only to quote from the many descriptions of modern battles, when the shot and shell rush screaming through the air, and when many a dire wound is inflicted which may shatter all the hopes, and all the usefulness, of some young and gallant life. They may refer to some intensely pathetic incident—one only of very many—like that which happened to a young officer a short time since in the Transvaal, when, in the moment of victory, after he had defeated the enemy with far inferior numbers and won the Victoria Cross by his heroic gallantry, a bullet swept across his eyeballs, and not only inflicted terrible agony, but left him blind for life. Or they will dwell on the lifelong anguish of "the many who must inevitably suffer," the helpless widows and fatherless little ones, left thenceforth to maintain the hard struggle of life, with broken hearts, against adverse conditions. They ask whether the Saviour of the world permits His followers, under any circumstances, to shoot each other down by tens of thousands, by way of "relieving the oppressed and maintaining the cause of justice and equity between man and man?" Pursuing the same theme, they will describe the aspect of a battle-field when night has ended the combat, and men, some athirst and horribly mutilated by ghastly wounds, lie (as they do lie) shrieking and sobbing on the torn and blood-stained sod. They will quote the words of the Duke of Wellington after the splendid victory of Waterloo, that, next to a battle lost, nothing is more terrible than a battle won, and that the glory of victory cannot make up for the anguish caused by the loss of many friends. Or, perhaps, they will refer to the lines written by the poet after the battle of the Alma:

"Oh, the gallant hearts that are lying cold and still,
On the slopes below the summit, on the plateau of the hill!

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Oh, the gallant hearts that are sobbing out their souls,
As the chilly night-wind searches through the burning bullet holes!
Oh, the writhing mass of pain, close-packed with the tranquil slain,
When the grey morn breaks again o'er the heights we dared to climb!"

And after they have harrowed our feelings to the uttermost, they will demand in triumph, How can you pretend to maintain that war can be a permissible remedy for human wrongs, when it inevitably inflicts, on myriads of the helpless and the innocent, miseries incomparably more intolerable than the grievances which it was designed to remove?

In spite of all this, we answer with entire conviction, that war, in any just and holy cause, is not only defensible, but is a positive duty. If all men were just, if all men loved each other, war would, indeed, be unnecessary; but, as law-courts and policemen and prisons are necessary, even in the polity of a Christian nation, so, while the world continues to be what it is, the suppression of all appeals to the decision of war would involve the certain and absolute triumph of robbery, oppression, greed and injustice. The occasional necessity for the resort to war, in order to settle serious national differences, is recognized throughout the whole of Holy Scripture. There are whole books of the Old Testament which ring with the clash of conflict. In the Prophet Isaiah, we read that "the Lord of Hosts mustereth the hosts of the battle"; and the Israelites, though they knew themselves to be the chosen people of God and under His special protection, yet felt themselves bound to gather together the armies with which He went forth to war. Nor is it otherwise in the New Testament. When soldiers, on their way to a campaign, came to John the Baptist, he did not give them the most distant hint that their very employment was unlawful, nor did he bid them return to their homes, but only commanded them to be just and upright. Our Lord never forbade war, from which He sometimes took His metaphors. He said: "When a strong man armed keepeth his palace, his goods are in peace."

War is but the collective form of the age-long, unceasing conflict of the human race against the usurpations of tyrannous evil. It is a fraction of that Armageddon struggle, described in the Apocalypse, in which the Son of God rides forth at the head of all His saints to subdue the machinations of the Devil and his angels. Every just and necessary war is but an episode in, and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a continuation of, that Divine Crusade. If, then, we almost hesitate to use the tremendous expression of one of the saintliest of English poets, if we shrink from saying with Wordsworth:

> "That God's most perfect instrument,
> In working out a pure intent,
> Is man arrayed for mutual slaughter;
> Yea, Carnage is His daughter,"

we yet venture to approve the words of another true poet, and to exclaim:

> "Peace, peace, peace with the vain and silly song,
> That we do no ill ourselves when we wink at others' wrong;
> That to turn the second cheek is the lesson of the Cross,
> To be learned by calculation of the profit and the loss—
> Go home, you idle teachers, you miserable creatures,
> The cannons are God's preachers when the time is ripe for war!
>
> "Peace is no peace, if it lets the ill grow stronger,
> Only cheating Destiny a very little longer:
> War, with its agonies, its horrors and its crimes,
> Is cheaper if discounted and taken up betimes.
> When the weeds of peace grow rank, we must plough the poisoned bank,
> Sow and reap the crop of peace with the implements of war."

Since, then, in the present condition of our fallen human nature, no means are open to us to stay the ruinous dominance of wickedness except war—adopted as the last resort, when all other means have been tried in vain—no Christian may need have any misgiving at taking part in that awful, yet final, arbitrament, in which the issues are left to the determination of the God of Battles. Hence it is that He Who brings good out of evil, and makes even the wrath of man abound to His praise, so often causes war, amid all its terrible accidents, to tend in a marked manner to the ennoblement of individual character. There has scarcely been any war in which some of the finest elements of virtue have not been educed. What splendor of self-sacrifice, what unflinching battle-brunt of heroism, what sense of the absolute supremacy of duty, does war call forth, even in the humblest and most ignorant soldiers! The youngest lad, from the poorest peasant cottage, is willing to take his life in his hand and sacrifice it, without a murmur, for his Queen and his country and his home. "Though he knows," said Kossuth, "that the glory of the victory will rest with the great leaders, and that where he falls

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

there he will lie, unhonored and unsung, yet such soldiers will charge unflinchingly on the batteries which vomit their cross fires into the dense ranks, and so they die by thousands, those unknown demigods!" We know Sir Francis Doyle's famous lines on the Private of the Buffs, who would not kowtow to his Chinese captors, because:

"He only knows that not through him
Shall England come to shame.

Poor, reckless, rude, low-born, untaught,
Bewildered and alone,
A heart with English feeling fraught
He yet can call his own:
And thus with eyes which would not shrink,
With knee to man unbent,
Unfaltering on its dreadful brink,
To his red grave he went."

Nor is it only the grandeur of a death-defying courage which such imminent peril evokes; it calls forth no less the tenderness of self-sacrifice. To mention but one of the many noble deeds which have been recorded during the war in the Transvaal—instances of men who have not held their lives dear unto themselves, if they could help to save others or even for a time alleviate their anguish—how beautiful is the anecdote of the common soldier, who, seeing his officer fall wounded on the battle-field, though he was himself unwounded, yet braved the perils of capture by the enemy, and spent the long, cold, wet night by the side of the wounded man, amid the drenching rain, in order, if possible, to keep him alive by the warmth of his own unwounded body!

But if, in so many thousands of instances, war thus calls forth the finest feelings of even the most ordinary men, it also, undoubtedly, has tended again and again to save whole nations from the eating canker of those vices which too often grow up in the long continuance of peace. No one has expressed this truth more eloquently than Mr. Ruskin. He says:

"A Nebuchadnezzar curse, which sends men to grass, like oxen, seems to follow but too closely on the excess or continuance of national power and peace. In the perplexities of nations, in their struggles for existence, their infancy, their impotence, and even their disorganization, they have higher hopes and nobler passions. Out of the suffering comes the serious mind, out of the salvation the grateful heart, out of the endurance the fortitude, out of the deliverance the faith. But when the more violent and external sources of suffering

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cease, worse evils seem arising out of their rest; evils that vex less, but mortify more; that suck the blood though they do not shed it, and ossify the heart though they do not torture it. There is danger that enervation may succeed to rest, apathy to patience, and the darkness of foul thoughts and the noise of jesting words to the earnest purity of the girded loin and the burning lamp. Let us beware lest our rest be the rest of stones, which, so long as they are torrent-tossed and thunder-stricken, preserve their majesty, but when the stream is silent, and the storm passed by, suffer the moss to cover them, and the lichen to feed on them, and are ploughed down into the dust."

Let us apply but one more test. If it be unjustifiable for a Christian to take part in war, we should hardly look for saintly men among professional soldiers. Yet, in all ages, there have been many such. I need not go back to the years of ancient times, or tell of Abraham, and Joshua, and Gideon, and Barak, and David, and Josiah, and the warrior Maccabees. I will come down at once to modern times. If there are any who doubt whether a true soldier of Christ can devote himself to the military life—still more if there be any who fancy that there would be no chivalry, no gallantry, nor battle-brunt in the temper of man when he has to stand in awe of the sequel which follows death—I would say to them, with Edward Irving:

"I would try these flush and flashy spirits with their own weapons, and play a little with them at their own game—I can tell them of those who fought with savage beasts. And what do they talk of war? Have they forgot Cromwell's iron band that caused their chivalry to skip? or the Scots Cameronians who seven times, with their Christian chief, received the thanks of Marlborough, that first of English captains? or Gustavus of the North, whose camp sang Psalms in every tent? It is not so long that they should forget Nelson's Methodists, who were the most trusted of that hero's crew."

But we may come down to living memory. To mention but one name in the story of the Crimean war, was there ever a braver soldier or a more faithful and earnest Christian than Captain Hedley Vicars? In the Indian Mutiny, was there any man who did more to secure the dominion of England than Sir Henry Havelock, who, from the earliest days of his connection with the army, fearlessly defiant of godless sneers, had been accustomed to gather his young soldiers together, to make them total abstainers, and to join with them in prayer meetings? In those days, it was a rare thing for a young officer to show such religious courage, and the soldiers whom Havelock gathered around him

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

acquired the sneering nickname of "Havelock's Saints." But when, during the Burmese war, there was a sudden attack made by the enemy in the evening, it was found that the great majority of the men were more or less under the influence of liquor. The British General was in despair, and a terrible disgrace and disaster seemed to be imminent, when one of the officers said to the General: "Send for Havelock; his men are never drunk, and Havelock is always ready." Havelock was sent for, and what might have proved to be a terrible catastrophe was averted by the faithfulness and promptitude of him and his much ridiculed "Saints."

Again, need I allude to General Gordon? A braver soldier and a more consistent Christian never lived; and England owes him a debt of unending gratitude. Yet Gordon so little shrank from being known to be humbly faithful in the daily performance of his religious duties that every soldier in his camp was aware that there were certain hours of the day in which he must not be disturbed, because the white handkerchief was then fastened outside his tent, and that was a sign that he was engaged in private prayer, and in the study of the Holy Scriptures.

But it seems to me that I have said enough to prove my point, that a war waged in the cause of truth and right, though it may be a very terrible necessity, yet in human history still continues to be at times a necessary duty, even for the most Christian nation, and is in no way at conflict with the obligations by which every true Christian is eternally bound. Let me, then, conclude with the words of a most venerable and excellent prelate, the Archbishop of Armagh, who writes:

"They say that War is hell, the great accursed,
The sin impossible to be forgiven:
Yet I can look beyond it at its worst,
And still find blue in heaven.

"And as I note how nobly natures form
Under the war's red rain, I deem it true
That He Who made the earthquake and the storm,
Perchance makes battles too.

* * * * * * *

"Thus as the heaven's many-colored flames
At sunset are but dust in rich disguise,
The ascending earthquake-dust of battle frames
God's picture in the skies."

F. W. FARRAR.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE DUTY OF DEMOCRATS.

BY M. B. INGALLS, PRESIDENT OF THE CHESAPEAKE AND OHIO RAILWAY COMPANY.

WHAT has happened since November, 1896, to warrant a reversal of the judgment which the American people then pronounced at the polls? Under what conditions have we entered on the present Presidential campaign, and what, in this regard, is the duty of patriotic citizens, independent of partisan affiliation? To the Democrat who voted for Palmer and Buckner, as well as to the Democrat who voted for McKinley, four years ago, the situation to-day presents peculiar embarrassments. Preferring to act with his party, when possible, the patriotic Democrat must, nevertheless, answer the call of duty, no matter in what direction it leads him.

The second and supreme trial of the great financial issue, which never should have been dragged into partisan politics, will be made at the polls in November, 1900. This test will, I believe, be conclusive. What are the conditions under which it is to be made?

There is in the United States at the present day unparalleled prosperity, in which every citizen has a right to share. If any citizen is prevented from sharing in that prosperity, he is the victim of conditions which cannot be righted by the election of Bryan, strongly as he may be tempted to trust in that remedy. Under the gold standard we have become the leading creditor nation, and we are financing the world. We have produced three great crops in succession, and we are feeding Europe. We have had three years of unexcelled manufacturing industry, and we are finding a prompt and generous market all over the world. The American farmer, the American laborer and the American business man were never as prosperous as they are to-day. It

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is by their suffrages that this Presidential election must be decided. In what direction do their interests lie?

The American farmer is selling for 37½ cents a bushel corn which it costs him 15 cents to produce. His wheat and cotton, his beef and pork are selling at profitable prices. He is spending his money in luxuries and enjoying himself. He is riding in railroad trains, and, as he looks from the car windows over the bountiful harvests, he is taking a new view not only of his native land, which was never fairer or happier, but is also thinking of his new markets and new "possessions" across the seas.

The laborer is to-day receiving more wages than he ever received before, and he is receiving them in a currency that is good all over the world. In many instances, undoubtedly, there must be a readjustment of wages, and the sporadic strikes now reported in various manufacturing centres point probably to the beginning of this readjustment. In my opinion, these and kindred difficulties will be safely and speedily settled.

This feeling of unrest in the bosom of the laborer, if it exists, is a protest against conditions which, while securing him good wages, seem nevertheless to rob him of his fair share in the general prosperity. In many ways, my sympathies are with him. It is to him that we must look for the ballots upon which his own industrial security depends, and it is to him, also, for that reason, that the argument upon the candidates and the issues of 1900 should be addressed. Now, can any sane man tell me how the laborer will help his condition, or the solution of the problems so vital to him, by voting to debase our standard of value and thereby reducing his own wages?

What has labor to hope from Bryan, ostensibly the friend of the dissatisfied, the champion of the aggrieved, and the chosen candidate of all the long-haired reformers in the United States? Does not the supreme salvation of labor depend, after all, upon preserving our standard of value, upon the non-partisan regulation of trusts, and upon the application to those great commercial aggregations, which are so peculiarly a product of this age, of a system of license and taxation? Is it not idle to denounce the trust as an evil, a menace to the national welfare? Is not the trust a natural and essential development of our time? A quarter of a century ago the word "corporation" implied an inherent reproach in the minds of exactly those citizens who to-day regard

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the trust, which is the incorporation of corporations, with the same disfavor. Yet it is to the solution of the trust problem that the American business man, as well as the American farmer and laborer, must address himself. And in the solution of that problem he will find the present goal of patriotism.

The business man who does not inquire into the politics of his bookkeeper is asked by the supporters of Mr. Bryan to allow partisan politics to be injected into the circulating medium through which he carries on his business. He refused in 1896, as he will refuse, I believe, in 1900, to impute either Democracy or Republicanism to the dollar. He will say that it is not a political question, and that it should not be made such. Asking himself where he shall seek guidance in the casting of his ballot, he, like the laborer and the farmer, looks out upon prosperity unprecedented. He sees trade following the flag all around the world, and new markets opening to him under new national responsibilities. He realizes, as a business man, that these responsibilities must be grappled with and adjusted on a business basis. No policy of evasion or retreat can commend itself to him. Yet, into the field of partisan discussion he finds these responsibilities dragged, like the dollars from his counting-room, by the politicians who seek his vote. And, like the farmer and the laborer, he finds his next national ballot invested with unique importance.

What will be the reply of the American patriot, who is now asked to believe that his home and his pocket-book are staked on the next turn of the ballot, that a wrong decision spells ruin, and that he must decide issues of such moment as were never before submitted to the American electorate?

He will say that the real issues are, by no means, those set up by the politicians; that Bryan's election—which appears to me impossible—would no more mean permanent ruin than McKinley's will mean a safe deliverance from all our troubles. And quite different from those given by politicians would be his reasons why good citizens, irrespective of party, should vote for McKinley in November. That it is the duty of patriots to do so I have no doubt.

The safety of the American Republic is not menaced by a bogey, crowned with an imperial diadem of straw. The cry of imperialism is simply a pretext of the Democratic leaders to save themselves from the fatal blunder they made in 1896, the blunder

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of dragging the dollar to the polls and endeavoring to degrade it. Imperialism is not the paramount issue, despite all efforts to make it so.

Now, as in 1896, the real issue is the Silver Danger. That is the peril threatening this country, not the imaginary evils attendant on the acquisition of new territory, which was the inevitable result of a war for which the shriekers against Imperialism were largely responsible. The only peril now threatening the United States is ruin and retrogression under Silver, the turning back of the wheels of progress and prosperity to the standards of China and Mexico, and the abandonment of our position as the greatest country in the civilized world.

Shall we go forward or shall we turn back? That is the question for the voters in November. Under McKinley we go forward, under Bryan we turn back.

The coming test of the Silver question at the polls must, in all human probability, be the final one. The will of the voters twice registered will not be the third time disputed. Each year that we preserve our present money standard gives it additional security. The American people do not like experiments with their currency, their school-houses, their churches or their savings-banks. A reversal of the popular verdict of 1896 would mean a reversal of all the achievements that make up our national prosperity. Bryan's election would mean that the sovereign people had decreed that our laborers shall be paid in silver, while our foreign debts must still be paid in gold.

Convinced as I am that the financial question is the paramount issue in November, 1900, as it was in November, 1896, it is worth while for Democrats who supported McKinley, as I did, four years ago, to ask what are the issues upon which our party could have appealed to the American people with fair prospects of success, and what we can contend for in future contests, after this economic and financial question is finally settled. To my mind these define themselves as reform in governmental administration, economy in governmental expenditure, the taxation and regulation of oppressive trusts and combinations, and the immediate enactment of a just and honest scheme of colonial government. These would have been issues upon which every patriot could have been honestly asked to vote. Why should we not set fairly about a reform in our old system of taxation, and, at the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

same time, initiate a departure which might well result in throwing the cost of government upon those who can best afford it? Why should not these very trusts, which are to-day the chief obstacle in the way of the plain people's enjoying their share in the general prosperity, be controlled, and why should they not pay to the Federal Government a license tax which would speedily convert them into blessings? If they are to-day blessings in disguise, the mask is in many instances painfully opaque. The connection between the trusts and the tariff is shamefully in evidence, yet I have little doubt that many trusts are beneficial to the people at large and are permanent industrial institutions. They are the results of the evolution of business, and, like the things the good wife of New England threw into the soap boiler, the more profuse and offensive the scum that came to the top to be skimmed, the better the soap always came out in the end. Into our national trust pot we have thrown steel rails and stockings, wall paper and caramels, ice and flour, matches and sugar, and the boiling-up is wonderful, if not altogether agreeable. The net product will, I believe, be good. The skimming is still in progress. The clarified result may be reached without great difficulty, and proper taxation will go far toward making it useful.

Nor could that fairest of all taxes, the income tax, fail to be a long step in the right direction toward lightening the burdens of the private citizen. It should by no means be given up, simply because the last law was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States. I mean a fair and proper income tax, levied upon every citizen in proportion to his income, be it great or be it small—not a class tax, as was the last abortion. If such a law cannot stand the scrutiny of the courts, then there should be a Constitutional amendment permitting it.

After all, it is my opinion that the statesmanship of our land might well develop its ripest fruits in the solution of our colonial problems. Repudiating, as I believe they will, in November, the false issue of imperialism, the American people have nevertheless been confronted, ever since the annexation of Hawaii as a Territory, by the supremely important and far-reaching question of how their new possessions shall be governed. The Silver problem solved once for all, as it will be in November, the colonial problem at once becomes paramount. We must either give up Hawaii, Porto Rico and the Philippines, haul down our flag, and shame-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fully abandon the righteous fruits of our prowess by land and sea, or we must prepare to govern these distant additions to our country fairly and honestly and capably. We must, at the same time, look to their future and our own, and remember the temptations to which they will be subjected, as well as those which may from time to time lure American statesmen, in search of votes in the United States Senate, to advocating the creation of alien States. Statehood is naturally the goal toward which the citizens of a Territory strive. Porto Rico and the Philippines have now, or will have in a brief time, as fair a title to the name and rights of Territories of the United States as the Hawaiian Islands have. When two Senators from Hawaii vote at the capital on the sugar tariff, the farmers of Indiana and Illinois will probably be heard in emphatic objection. So will the people East and West object when Presidential elections are decided by the voters of these far-off islands. It is impossible to conceive of a righteous discrimination against the Tagals of Luzon and against the half-breeds of Porto Rico in favor of the yellow men of Honolulu, alike alien in race, and divided from our continent and from the integrity of our Republic by boundaries of the seas. Yet, when we admitted Hawaii as a Territory, we set a precedent in favor of Porto Rico and the Philippines which it is difficult to disregard.

There lies the true danger attendant on our new acquisitions. That precedent must be disregarded. A perpetual, constitutional barrier must be erected against the Statehood of all our non-contiguous possessions. That supremely important problem is to be met and overcome, not by cowardly evasion or disgraceful retreat, for the American people will tolerate no such course. We must institute honestly and wisely and administer economically an American colonial system, worthy alike of our new possessions and of their mother country. We are not incapable of governing them. We are, as a nation, incapable of nothing.

I fully believe in the future of the American Republic and that we are wise and brave enough to bear the burdens and fulfill the task Providence has allotted us. Let us not falter at the threshold.

M. E. INGALLS.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NIHILISM AND ANARCHY.

BY CHARLES JOHNSTON, BENGAL CIVIL SERVICE (RETIRED).

"The intellectual and physical strength of the nations and their labor and capital are in large measure diverted from their natural purpose and unproductively consumed.

"National culture, economic progress and the production of wealth are either paralyzed or checked in their development.

"Economic crises are transforming the armed peace of our days into a crushing burden, which the people find it ever harder to bear."

The Tzar's Peace Manifesto.

TWENTY years of comparative quiet following the vast conspiracy of Nihilism had almost led us to believe that the fires of social revolution were burnt out. We have recently had stern reminders that volcanic elements still seethe everywhere beneath the solid-seeming surface of Christendom. Two European countries have been swept from end to end by anarchist riots; an Empress has been stabbed; an Emperor has narrowly escaped assassination; and now we have to add to the list the tragical death of King Humbert.

If we take the murder of President Carnot as forming part of the same cycle of events, as it admittedly does, and add France to Spain, Italy, Austria and Germany, we shall have a total population of over two hundred millions affected, including Celtiberian, Gallic, Latin, Slavonic and Teutonic nations. Nor does this exhaust the area of unrest. We must add that England has been for months, and still is, in the throes of an economic war, where both sides have already lost scores of millions in the contest; while Russia, the remaining great Power of Europe, has for two years been devastated by famines which have desolated twenty provinces. This for Christendom alone.

It would be futile to deny that this is a condition of the utmost gravity; a condition evidently more formidable even than the darkest days of the Nihilist Terror; and, we are unfortunately

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

compelled to add, a condition in no wise relieved or exhausted by the present outbreaks, or less likely to produce eruptive elements in the future.

The comparison between European anarchy to-day and Russian Nihilism twenty years ago suggests two questions: Whether identical causes lie behind both outbreaks; and, even more interesting, Whether we are again face to face with a conspiracy, widespread, determined, far-sighted, and thoroughly organized, like that of the Terrorists of Russia.

The Nihilists had an army of active members; they had hosts of aiders and abettors even in the imperial household and the great Government departments; they had abundant funds; they had ramifications all through Russia, Siberia and Poland; they had groups in the Balkans and Constantinople; they had centres in Geneva and Paris; and at least a literary outpost in London. They were led by men and women of consummate intellectual force, high daring and entire devotion; like Vera Zassulich, who struck the first blow of militant Nihilism; Krapchevski, who stabbed a famous general of the Third Division, in broad daylight, in a metropolitan thoroughfare, and escaped; Dmitri Lisogub, who lived in poverty, giving all the large revenues of his estate to provide explosives, disguises, and the sinews of underground warfare against autocracy; Goldenberg, who attempted the Tzar's life, in the Crimea, and swallowed poison to escape arrest; Jeliaboff, who prepared the bombs which slew Alexander II., beside the Ekaterinski Canal; and Sophia Perovskaya, whose handkerchief gave the signal for his assassination.

Are there personalities like these in the background to-day, of whom the slayer of President Carnot, the stabber of the Empress Elizabeth, the would-be assassins of the Emperor William, and the murderer of King Humbert are but the tools? Are we in presence of a revival of the International, as conceived by Bakunin, Lasalle and Lavroff, as dreamed of by Hertzen and Krapotkin, and as played with by William Black, in "Sunrise," and by Henry James, in "Princess Casamassima,"—a close-knit union of the People of all lands against the Privileged, ardent with humane ambitions, and ready to lay down life for their ideals; a band of martyrs, taking as their motto: "Truth forever on the scaffold, wrong forever on the throne"?

We can give provisional answers to both these questions, and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

they add to the gravity of the outlook. For while the Nihilist movement arose out of local and temporary causes,—a period of transition, affecting one country only,—the present outbreaks, and the very formidable forces behind them, are the fruit of conditions deemed normal and habitual, in no sense transitory, but certain rather to become steadily aggravated, under the operation of existent causes.

Nihilism grew out of the emancipation of the serfs in 1861, and the sudden spread of education which followed it. Russian society was disorganized; and then the floating elements were supplied with intellectual stimulants, and familiarized with the theories of the fashionable materialism of the day; and, at the same time, they were made to feel that there was no room for them in the State. They were taught the chemistry of the high explosives, and then sent forth from the schools to starve.

But the very bitterness of the conditions which engendered Nihilism was a guarantee of their non-continuance. The floods let loose, soon found their level; and the wisdom, beneficence and toleration which made the reign of Alexander III. one of the best in history have restored the social equilibrium of Russia, at least so far as the causes of Nihilism are concerned.

But none of this applies to the countries of Western Europe, where the red banner of anarchy is now raised. We must look elsewhere for the causes of the recent outbreaks. Let us begin with Spain, as most grievously afflicted, and as likely, for other reasons, to be uppermost in our thoughts.

The conditions of that once splendid land are pitiable. The symptoms to be accounted for are these: During three days in May, 1898, there was civil war in eleven provinces of the Peninsula; the people, desperate, leaderless, ineffectual, driven to insurrection by sheer starvation, gathering in the streets, to be shot down by the soldiers; accomplishing nothing by their protests but their own miserable end; and this, not in one region, but in all, from Asturias in the extreme north, to Cadiz in the south; from Leon and Sevilla in the west, through the inland provinces of Toledo, Jaen and Albacete, to Murcia, Alicante, Valencia and Barcelona,—that is, the whole Mediterranean coast.

Behind an outbreak like this, in a fertile country, whose inhabitants are industrious and thrifty, there must be very potent and deep-seated causes of mischief and disorganization; and the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

more we examine the matter, the graver does it become, and the more sincere is our sympathy for the people of a grievously afflicted land. We find that, in spite of all their energy and courage, the Spanish peasants have for years been fighting a hopeless battle; that the drift of circumstances against their utmost efforts has been overwhelming; that the "riots" of May were but the last bitter outcry of desperation. The whole condition of the land is one of the utmost decadence; its evident misery the fruit not of one cause, but of many.

Spain has long been losing hopelessly in the battle of the modern world. And a moral rottenness lay at the root of this national disaster. Spain was afflicted with a curse of spiritual terrorism, that held the whole land in slavery; all the energies of progress were crushed, and the brightest intellects were stifled in dungeons or offered at the stake, as an "act of faith," by the Holy Inquisition. The hearts of men were crushed under that iron heel. So it came that, while other lands were striving forwards to wealth and national well-being, Spain, robbed of her moral energies, without guidance or enlightenment, without knowledge of the powers and processes of modern wealth, was left hopelessly behind in the race of nations, utterly unfit to contend with other lands where the rich reproductive powers of thought had been stimulated, not stifled. To the charge of the Holy Office must be laid the decadence of Spain; the utter exhaustion of her energies; the pitiful deaths of the rioters of May; and the strong seeds of anarchy left to grow rank in the hearts of their survivors.

And to this moral injury we must add a material one, at the hands of the same ecclesiastical powers. When the monasteries were suppressed, two generations ago, a startling fact was disclosed. It was found that the revenues of the church in Spain were almost three times the entire revenues of the state, and that one-fifth of the whole population was engaged in the service of the church. And this drain on the resources of the land had lasted for centuries; this enormous tax had been paid, generation after generation, by the peasantry and artisans of Spain; and they had received no material return whatever. It was a sheer economic loss lasting through centuries. No wonder, then, that they have found it impossible to build up any solid prosperity; no wonder that, after generations of heroic struggle, of incessant toil, they find themselves starving to-day, throughout the length and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

breadth of the Peninsula, with but the one escape of insurrection, hopeless and fruitless—of deaths by the bullets of their own sons in the Spanish army.

These two causes are adequate in themselves to account for any amount of misery; but we must add two others, of hardly less galling weight. As they more or less affect the whole of Europe, we may speak of them in more general terms.

The exactions of the church in Spain affirmed and sanctioned the principle that the actual cultivators of the soil, who alone drew forth the riches of the earth, must give up a large part of the fruit of their labor, not in exchange for commodities, but without any return whatever,—unless we count as such the spiritual benefits of the Inquisition. To give up the greater part of their wealth, all beyond a mere starvation wage, century after century, and to receive nothing at all in exchange,—this was the fate of the entire peasantry of Spain, of the entire peasantry of Europe, throughout the Middle Ages. It is the condition of the largest part of Europe to-day.

What the church thus practised and sanctioned, the territorial nobility readily imitated. So that we have for centuries had two populations in Europe: first, the actual cultivators of the soil, and then, above these, a second population, producing nothing, but claiming the best fruits of the earth from its cultivators, and carrying out this exaction at the point of the sword; and, further, offering no return whatever to the producers.

We have become so used to this that it seems natural and normal. In reality, it is an enormous injustice. Or, to speak in the passionless language of science, it is an economic disability, against which no country can bear up in competition with freer lands. It is this tremendous disability which has left Europe at the mercy of America; and, while Count Goluchowski has seen the danger, and warned the Cabinets of Europe of its existence, he has either ignored, or he has been blind to, the real cause. The cultivators of Europe cannot compete, because they are compelled to give up a great part of the fruits of their toil, and must therefore put such high prices on the rest to pay expenses that they leave the market practically in the hands of America. Failing to sell, they must give up, starve, protest, and fall, like the bread-rioters in Spain and Italy. For a bread-rioter is simply a man dying of starvation.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

To the operation of this cause, we must assign the ruin of agriculture in England. Compelled to pay rents—that is, private taxes—of ten, twenty, or, as in the hop-gardens of Kent, fifty dollars an acre, the farmers have been literally beggared, with the result that they are throwing up their farms, and whole counties are lying fallow. And the heart-breaking struggle they go through, before deciding that they have failed, is as pitiful in England, the richest country in Europe, as it is in Italy or Spain, two of the poorest; while the causes in all three are identical.

And it is characteristic of suffering humanity that this vast injustice, in itself, was never sufficient to call forth a protest. No protest was heard until injustice brought starvation,—the one thing that always makes man vocal and articulate. The cause of the protest was not injustice, but destitution resulting from the competition of a rent-free land.

In Spain, the territorial nobility, with claims to be thus supported by the peasants, amounts to something over a million, out of a population of sixteen millions. And we need hardly point out that the nobles have insisted all along on being supported on a very different scale from that which the peasants were able to afford for themselves. A mere equality between laborer and idler was not to be thought of. The contrast between castle and hut tells its own tale.

We are not called to pronounce upon the morality of this principle, on which a whole epoch rested. Our duty is to show that it is one of the causes of anarchy, or starvation vocalized; because, as an economic disability, it does in actual operation condemn the whole agricultural population of rent-paying countries to failure in the competition of the world's markets; and this failure means starvation, with pitiable protests against starvation, such as have called for the military in Spain and Italy to silence protest in death.

And, as if the burden of suffering humanity were not yet great enough, there is another cause of anarchy in Spain, and indeed in all Europe, as grievous as those which have gone before. It is excessive taxation, and especially that part of taxation which goes to pay the interest of national debts. In Spain, this debt amounts to seventy dollars a head for the whole population. But only the producers in reality pay; and we may estimate the number of male adults amongst the producers at about two million. This

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

raises the debt, for each male adult producer, to between five and six hundred dollars, the interest of which must be paid year by year. And under the principle of usury, this debt, though paid off in full four times every century, is yet owed in full, and is handed down from father to son as a perpetual legacy.

But this principle of excessive taxation bears even more heavily on Italy; so that we may continue to consider it, in relation to that almost bankrupt land. We are justified in saying that the whole political structure of Europe was built up by the sword; through the conquests of older nations by the Normans, the Goths, the Vandals, the Lombards and their congeners. They spread over the original population, as that second layer of which we have spoken, extorting the better part of the fruit of the soil by armed force. Thus relieved from material cares and toil, the territorial nobles had leisure to quarrel amongst themselves; and the history of Europe is the tale of their quarrels. The peasants paid thrice over, with their goods, with their lives, with their degradation. From amongst these struggling masses, a few great families rose, asserting the right to levy on the produce of one or another piece of territory; these successful families formed the dynasties of to-day, and the tracts over which their levies extended are the modern European lands. The standing armies of Europe are the direct outcome of the rivalry of the great successful families; one army for the Bourbons in France; another for the Hapsburgs in Austria; another for the Spanish branch of the Bourbons; another for the Hohenzollerns; and so on.

Thus it befell that, when United Italy was handed over to the illustrious representative of the House of Savoy, Italy, too, must have a standing army, not to be behind the rest of the "first families" of Europe. The principle that countries are made for their dynasties was once more affirmed. And Italy was forced to live up to a style beyond its means, with the result that the land is practically bankrupt; the peasants are heartbroken; and the outbursts of anarchy from the Alps to Naples and the south bear pathetic testimony to evils too heavy to be borne. What the maintenance of their retinues by the first families of Europe means to the rest of the population has recently been set forth on unimpeachable testimony, which I cannot do better than repeat:

"The intellectual and physical strength of the nations and their labor and capital are in large measure diverted from their natural pur-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pose, and unproductively consumed. National culture, economic progress and the production of wealth are either paralyzed or checked in their development. Economic crises are transforming the armed peace of our days into a crushing burden, which the people find it ever harder to bear."

These are the words, not of some obscure fanatic, but of the most powerful ruler in Christendom.

And all this, we cannot insist on it too often, is wholly the legacy of the armed pillage of the Middle Ages, and the struggles between the great successful families for the right to levy on the produce of different areas; not dreaming, of course, of making any return.

The question of taxation brings up another evil besides that of enormous, unproductive expenditure: namely, the tendency of the governing classes to multiply offices, for the sole purpose of drawing salaries. And this evil bears very heavily upon Italy and Spain. The process of expropriating the peasant is made as costly as possible—for the peasant. It is the coat following the cloak; though the despoiler seems to bear up well against remorse.

In view of these multiplied causes, we can only wonder that the outbursts of anarchy in Italy and Spain have been so limited, so brief, so futile. And their futility leads us to believe that there is no really strong leading behind them. In this, anarchy differs from Nihilism; for the strong personalities of the leaders were the marked feature of the Nihilist movement, and the chief means by which it held the interest of the world. The peasants who died in eleven provinces of Spain, and in a score of Italian cities, fell as sacrifices, not as soldiers in a warfare where there was any hope of victory. It is not conceivable that, under existing circumstances, they could face the army even of Italy or Spain.

What must happen, then? For the causes at work are, as we saw, normal and habitual. And we must suppose that suppression by armed force will also continue. Therefore, one of two things must happen: either the peasantry will continue to be pushed to, and across, the verge of starvation, protesting, and being shot down, until there is an end of them, and national bankruptcy causes the extinction of both army and peasantry; or the soldiers, peasants themselves, will throw down their arms, and we shall have a vast social upheaval all over Europe. Outbreaks like those in Italy and Spain do nothing to cure the conditions which cause

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

them. They are only symptoms of coming bankruptcy and ruin. The nation and the army rest on the peasant's back; if that be broken, all must fall.

If we turn to Austria, we shall find an additional element of disintegration—race injustice. Only a generation ago, the Magyars won their rights; it is melancholy to see that they are to-day as bitterly opposed to a recognition of the equality of the Slavs as are the Germans. Bohemia was robbed of her independent kingship by means as base as any history tells of; and only Spain under the Inquisition offers a parallel to the religious persecution of the Czechs by the Hapsburgs. And while feeling the utmost sympathy for the heavy sorrows that recent years have brought to the House of Austria, we cannot but remember that there is a Nemesis in history; and that this famous House has not been armed with justice and tolerance, mercy and gentle charity; it has too often been a scourge to mankind, and its subject provinces again and again preferred the scimitars of the Moslems to the tender mercies of the House of Hapsburg.

So that in Austria, also, the causes that engender anarchy are steadily at work. And should any temporary cause lower the margin of subsistence below the starvation limit, we may confidently look for uprisings throughout the Dual Monarchy as pitiable as those of Italy and Spain; with this difference, that Austria can always count on sending to any province troops which are practically of a hostile race.

In Russia, the means of subsistence have fallen below the limit, in nineteen provinces; yet there is no anarchy, no insurrection. We must except Russia, in respect of everything we have said of anarchy. For there the spiritual conditions are different; and, therefore, like causes produce unlike effects. The Russian has not that sense of individualism which leads to protest. His theory of life is different. A large part of his interest lies in the other world. This is too large a theme to more than touch on; for one proof of it, we have the admitted fact that the peasantry of Russia took no part in Nihilism, a movement which was rather academic than popular. From the modern life of Europe, the Russian peasantry stands apart.

When we come to consider the causes of anarchy in France and Germany, we must introduce an entirely new element in addition to those already enumerated in considering the situation existing

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in the other countries referred to. And this addition suggests reflections of the utmost gravity.

It would not be wrong to say that the causes we have hitherto spoken of are a heritage from the Middle Ages; and that, with the passing of the mediæval world, they, too, will gradually pass away. Ecclesiastical tyranny, which exercised such a blighting influence over Spain, has received a death-blow. Two generations have passed since the monasteries throughout the Peninsula were suppressed. They are not likely to be reinstated. And so with the levies of territorial nobilities; the conditions of the modern world are making their continuance an impossibility. The great landowners are condemned to see their domains lie fallow; and, with every new territory brought under cultivation in younger lands, this principle will bear more heavily on the territorial nobility of Europe.

We may also hope to see excessive taxation gradually corrected, and one burden lightened by the extinction of national debts through the establishment of sinking funds. And, if the Tzar's splendid dream be carried out, we may hope to see some lightening of the burden of the army, already so fatal to Italy.

Can we, then, look forward confidently to a time when, through the fading of mediævalism, anarchy, and the causes which produce it, will become things of the past?

When we turn from Spain, Italy and Austria to Germany and France, we find an answer; and it is unfortunately in a negative sense. Modern conditions remove the old evils, only to bring evils of their own. The first cause of anarchy, lying behind the secondary causes we have examined, has been carried forward into our modern life, and is as active as ever. That first cause is injustice.

The burden of ecclesiastical tyranny was based on injustice—a levy on the producer, with no material return. And to perpetuate this injustice, and the intellectual condition which alone would submit to it, the basest means were used; persecution defended those formulas of theology which were the title-deeds of the church.

The principle of rent, the life-spring of territorial nobilities, was also based on injustice—the knight with the sword, as against the peasant with the spade. The low-browed peasantry of Europe bear witness to the moral degradation which accompanied and made possible this injustice.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Excessive taxation, especially for the maintenance of armies, was not less unjust. The peasants gave their goods and lives to settle quarrels they had no part in, the disputes of the great successful families as to who had the right to practise extortion on the peasants of other lands.

This principle of injustice has come forth anew in the modern world. It is everywhere present in the relations between capital and labor, between the artisan and the manufacturer. And in this form, it is the new element of anarchy in Germany and France. I do not pretend to settle a question of ideal justice, or to decide what share should go to labor, and what to capital, of what they jointly produce. It will be enough to show the principle on which division is now made. The manufacturer and the capitalist reduce the share of labor to the lowest limit; they take advantage of the law of competition to wring from the laborer the largest quantity of work for the lowest wage. In other words, in bargaining with the laborer, they work on him through his fear of starvation. Under the influence of competition, the workman must give his toil for what will just keep him alive; otherwise, there are poorer than he to take his place. And the manufacturer and the capitalist take advantage of this bitter law of want, in all their bargains with their employees. The result is that while the employer of labor grows daily richer, the laborer can never rise above the starvation limit; nor can he see the slightest hope for his children.

If the factory makes no profit, he loses his work and livelihood; but if it makes a profit, he has no compensating gain. Every particle of that profit, beyond the mere living wage settled by competition, goes into other hands; and there is not the faintest prospect, under existing conditions, that this will be altered for the better. So that, under existing conditions, the laboring class is doomed to toil for a mere subsistence, in perpetuity; doomed, at the same time, to see another class grow rich through that ill-paid toil. That is the cause of modern anarchy, of anarchy in countries like Germany and France, which are passing out from those shadows of mediævalism that still hang over Austria, Italy and Spain.

And this leads us to a consideration as gloomy as it is possible to imagine, and which we have not yet seen suggested, though it is sufficiently obvious. Labor has been trying conclusions with

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

capital in England, and labor has been defeated. In 1898, after twenty weeks of struggle, of suffering and privation, the colliers of South Wales went back to work, practically on the masters' terms. The total loss was estimated at six millions sterling; the men's share in that loss at about half that sum. They sacrificed about the same sum in the engineers' strike; so that these two contests cost the labor of England twenty-five million dollars. And that with defeat!

In the struggle from mediæval to modern conditions in politics, it is the glory of England to have discovered and applied constitutional means. England is now attempting constitutional means in the struggle between labor and capital. And, so far, England has failed. And we have cause to fear that, as the whole world has been influenced by England's constitutional success in politics, so the whole world will be influenced, in a contrary sense, by England's constitutional failure in economics. The alternative is anarchy; a war longer and fiercer than any the world has seen, fought in the dark, with weapons forged by modern chemistry and electricity.

Behind the secondary causes of anarchy, as ever, lies the primary cause: the failure of justice between man and man; the willingness to take advantage of another's necessity for our own profit. There is no cure but true and generous dealing, giving to others the measure we desire for ourselves.

CHARLES JOHNSTON.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE ASSASSINATION MANIA: ITS SOCIAL AND ETHICAL SIGNIFICANCE.

BY DR. F. L. OSWALD.

THE cure of social, as of physical, disorders has often been baffled by the obscurity of their cause; and the very name of Anarchism may have tended to complicate the problem of its expurgation. Insanity admits of no political remedies. If the international league of malcontents and millennium-mongers were really trying to realize their ideals by the abolition of organized government, the investigation of their complaint should be delegated to an expert in mental pathology.

Like the homicidal sectarians of Mohammedanism, the King-slaying fanatics have profited by that appearance of intellectual incompetence. It did not seem worth while to controvert the ravings of madmen, whose tenets could hardly fail to be refuted by the logic of practical experiments. That the adoption of their name was suggested by an anticipation of that convenient mistake may be doubted, but their four last crimes have at least revealed the true significance of their conspiracy. It is not a revolt of lawlessness against order, but of misery against happiness, of hunger against eupeptic beatitude. The four most prominent victims were not selected as representatives of despotism, but as representatives of social prerogatives.

Hence, also, the suggestive fact that the assassins were natives of the country where the contrasts of wealth and poverty have reached their most cruel extreme. Compared with such autocrats as Nero and Commodus, the statesmen of modern Italy were paragons of liberalism. But the Cæsars, for three centuries and a half, paid an enormous license for the privileges which their successors arrogate by right of descent. Their government was a mutual-benefit contract between rulers and subjects. A sum ex-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ceeding a million dollars a day was set aside for *panes et circenses*—free circus games and the free distribution of corn and oil. The Circus Maximus was crowded three times a week, and at least once a month the prodigious expenditure was augmented by special donations, intended sometimes to aid the celebration of national holidays, but oftener to conciliate the good-will of the masses. Every Roman citizen could claim his share of the free commissariat, or receive its commutation value in coin; and the gate fee of the luxurious public baths was so small that a compromise payment of a few *sesterces* would admit dozens of impecunious applicants. In consideration of such inducements, the descendants of Cato could afford to connive at the incidental pranks of their rulers, many of whom added social to financial liberality, and renounced private amusements to avoid the very appearance of exclusiveness.

In the Middle Ages, free shows were limited to ecclesiastical pageants, but not a few of the warlike princes were munificent to the degree of prodigality; and Italy, at that time, was a sparsely settled country abounding with mountain parks and free hunting grounds.

Forests, fun and freedom have now vanished together. Italy has become a treadmill, where hundreds of thousands can by incessant labor just earn enough to toil another day. The prospect of reaching a land where they can enjoy a few leisure hours between sleep and drudgery impels whole families to stint themselves in food to save the price of an emigration ticket. Holidays, in the ancient sense of the word, are known only from tradition in some agricultural districts of the peninsula. I have seen Spain and Northern Africa, but never anything to resemble the dreariness, the joylessness and hopeless squalor of some villages in Southern Italy.

The enjoyments of the privileged classes, on the other hand, have become more comprehensive from century to century. Science has aided art in beautifying the country seats of the Apennines. In the Euganean Hills there are villas rivalling in splendor the palaces of the Spanish Moriscos, and surpassing them in the matter of domestic and sanitary contrivances, literary treasures and curiosities of natural history. Where the Bembos and Medicis had ten topics of conversation, the Cavours and Lamarmoras have a thousand. Game has been gleaned from

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the wilderness of the mountains and fenced in the hunting preserves of the rich. One by one, the means of secular enjoyment have become class privileges. The thermæ of Caracalla are in ruins; municipal regulations bar the poor from the bathing waters of the corporation limits. Hunters, caught red-handed without a license costing five dollars a month, are jailed like highway robbers. Dancers, picnickers, arrangers of musical entertainments are charged another license. The right of free assembly has been curtailed to prevent indignation meetings. Before orators can harangue a crowd, they have to apply for a magistrate's permit, and deposit a *caution*, to cover the probable amount of a fine, in case the police censor should see fit to complain. The dog-tax has eliminated the poor man's pet. The privilege of fishing, like that of hunting, has to be paid for in advance.

Thus, deprived of more pleasant pastimes, Pietro Farina has had time to brood over the problems of existence, with such results as might have been anticipated.

For a long series of centuries, the government of legitimate kings, with their prestige of divine sanction, claimed an infallibility that expiated its arrogance by fostering a belief in legislative omnipotence. The crowned representative of Providence pretended to hold the keys of national weal or woe; so, if things went wrong, his government must be to blame, and, in extremes of woefulness the victims of hard times may really have conceived the idea of seeking relief in the plan of abolishing government altogether. How far further reflection has modified their views on that point may be inferred from the disputes of their leaders. But they all agreed that the injustice of existing social arrangements had become insupportable, and that, complaints having proved unavailing, the problem of reform must be attempted by more drastic means.

That the battle-cry of tyrannicide was a mere pretext has been abundantly proved by the history of the last twenty-two months, as well as by the proximate causes of the French Revolution, and of the conspiracies against the lives of numerous European sovereigns and statesmen. The "discouragement of oppression by making the trade of the oppressor a perilous one," was, indeed, a shibboleth of many anarchistic orators; but almost whenever those theories were supposed to have ripened into action, the wrath of the perpetrators was really excited by sins of omission,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rather than of commission,—and often only by the mere vague suspicion of such negative sins.

King Humbert was, all in all, about the most liberal sovereign in Europe—easy-going, jovial, nervously averse to harsh enforcements of his prerogatives, a philosopher, but doing his best to hold the balance of justice between the clericals and secularists, fond of fun, though at his own expense, affable, always accessible to petitioners and reform projectors. But the fact remained that his rule had failed to relieve the frightful distress of the lower classes. Times were still as hard as during the last three years of his father's reign, when dozens of villages were depopulated by mass-emigration, because the inhabitants could no longer live and pay their taxes. What right had he to be junketing at Monza or bantering the custodian of the Museo Borbonico, and attending masked balls, while thousands of his subjects were perishing from actual starvation? "How did he dare to be fat while we shrivelled?" said an attendant at the execution of Louis XVI.

That he was a representative gentleman was also the only crime of President Carnot, as of Premier Canovas, who, though an active promoter of reforms, had contrived to accumulate a little bric-a-brac, while so many of his countrymen had to sell their furniture for bread. Carnot, in his own way, was even a leader of democratic progress, an opponent of despotism in church and state. But he kept a coach and several liveried flunkeys, and for the time being came as near to kingship as circumstances in France would permit. His country-lodge of Montbrissot, too, testified against him; he had found time for the enjoyment of leisure, while there were bread riots at Marseilles. His intellectual abilities only aggravated his demerits. There was no excuse for his failure to initiate a much-needed millennium.

In the case of the Empress of Austria, the absence of direct provocation was even more evident. For the last three years of her life, she had abstained from all personal interference in politics. Two of her chamberlains had been discharged to save money for travelling expenses. She had accepted a loan from her brother-in-law to erect a monument to Heinrich Heine, the apostle of mental emancipation. The poor old lady really represented nothing but poetical ideals; but she had established a fairy-palace on the island of Cyprus and managed to enjoy life after a fashion, though mainly by a triumph of mind over the persistent

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

spite of fortune. The tragic fates of her son and her royal kinsman had failed to pay her debt to Nemesis.

The selection of her person as the object of a brutal vendetta reveals, indeed, the ugliest by-purpose of anarchistic conspiracies —the chance for the gratification of a blackguard's spite against intellectual superiority. The First Consul, during the era of his military miracles and reconstructive achievements, was repeatedly attacked by plotters who spared him in his subsequent rôle of a self-seeking dictator. Frederick the Great made more enemies by his epigrams than by the appropriation of Silesia and Poland. The Romans, who had endured the ruffian Sulla and did their best to endure the monster Tiberius, revolted against the dictatorship of Divus Julius. President Balmaceda of Chili, a scholar, philosopher, philanthropist and patriot, was hounded to death by the very classes of the populace he had tried to befriend. They must have been warned by a misgiving that the land of the Spanish-American nations would not look upon his like again, but were tired of listening to the acknowledgment of his merits, as the ostracizers of Aristides expressed it with cynical candor.

Incidentally, the "age of assassinations" also suggests a suspicion that the prospect of death has lost its terrors for a large class of criminals. Sanguinary conspiracies were almost as frequent during the middle of the fifteenth century, and again at the beginning of the seventeenth, but the plotters preferred to lurk in ambush or used poison instead of steel. The constructor of the "Infernal Machine" was victimized by his own contrivance, but only through the accident of being delayed in a crowd, as he took to his heels a moment after applying his match. Our latter-day reformers by assassination make no attempt to avoid their doom, and, indeed, they have mostly executed the programme of the Junta under circumstances that precluded the chance of escape.

Did they court notoriety at the price of martyrdom? It is more probable that they were done with life, and merely preferred indirect to direct methods of suicide. "This planet of ours is so large that I never urge anybody to leave it," says a British satirist, "but to those who insist to go I should always like to represent the expedience of not wasting themselves. Select a worthy travelling companion and earn the gratitude of mankind without extra expense."

Even thus, life-weary anarchs of the Bresci and Luchesi type

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

may have availed themselves of the chance to attain the approval of their Junta brethren, without delaying their predetermined departure more than a few weeks. Luchesi, in fact, admitted his regret that his calculations in that respect had been thwarted by the Swiss vote for the abolition of the death penalty. He had dismissed his hopes of the present life, as well as his fears of the future, and was impatiently ready to go; but he lacked the courage to make his own quietus, except by means of which fate had now inopportunely deprived him.

Switzerland might thus, after all, offer the safest refuge to retired sovereigns, and Mr. Welker, the editor of the *Berner Bund*, seriously proposed to extend that advantage to other countries, "by barring the privileges of the Stygian ferry to political assassins." Lock them up in Fort Spielberg, he says, or let the Provost Marshal of Irkutsk get his claws in their wool, but do not play their game by assisting them to cast off the burden of life. Let them know that, if they murder in haste, they will have to repent at leisure.

The plan of curing the assassination mania by the prescription that abated garroting has found advocates in Austria and Great Britain, but would still more decidedly involve the risk of mending the trump cards of the maniacs by furnishing them a pretext to rave against revivals of Oriental barbarism. Knouted Nihilists so invariably become popular heroes that the advisers of the present Tzar have induced him to abolish physical aggravations of the doom that obliterates their memory in the convict mines of the Far East.

The Swiss plan is the best. The arrangements of modern prisons make suicide almost impossible to wards of the Death Watch, and civilized nations should agree to subject convicted anarchists to the same system of surveillance. Life-weary desperadoes may become less ready to run amuck if they know that mankind will compel them to bear the yoke of existence with added burdens.

F. L. OSWALD.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CATHOLICS AND AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP.

BY THE RIGHT REV. JAMES A. M'FAUL, BISHOP OF TRENTON.

HISTORY now records almost a century and a quarter of the national existence of the United States. This period has been characterized by a well-nigh uninterrupted and unexampled material prosperity. The thirteen original States have become a mighty nation, reaching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the Lakes to the Gulf. Recently, the American Eagle has stretched out his pinions over new territory, and problems, undreamed of by the statesmen of the past, confront this generation. This vast tract of country is peopled by diverse nationalities; but, such is our capacity for assimilation, that in one generation, or at most in two, immigrants of all nationalities become Americans, energetic and progressive, vying even with those in whose veins flows the blood of the Revolutionary Fathers in all qualities which contribute to the greatness of a nation.

Immigrants have never tired of relating the tyranny which they endured in the Old World, and have deeply instilled into the minds of their offspring love for this land which, they firmly believe, was reserved by Providence, as a refuge from civil and religious oppression, and as a soil wherein liberty and the rights of man should be so deeply planted, so ardently cherished in the hearts of the people, that they shall never more perish from the face of the earth. Among these immigrants were many children of the Catholic Church; they, in most instances, had even greater reason than their fellows to love America, for the hand of tyranny had dealt most cruelly with them in an endeavor to crush out of their hearts every aspiration after civil and religious freedom. We do not wonder, then, that they read with avidity the history of America, and blessed the day when, guided by Heaven, Columbus planted upon the shores of the New World the cross of Christ,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the symbol of Christianity and civilization; nor are we unprepared to learn that they stood shoulder to shoulder with their compatriots in the days that tried men's souls, bared their breasts to the storm of lead, and died for American liberty.

History abundantly testifies to the position taken by Catholics in favor of independence. "The Roman Catholics," says Lossing, "who were more numerous in Maryland than in any other colony, were generally the friends of liberty; and that province was among the earliest to approve the acts of the Continental Congress."*

When Washington was elected first President of the United States, the Catholics offered a congratulatory address which contains the following passage:

"This prospect of national prosperity is peculiarly pleasing to us on another account; because, whilst our country preserves her freedom and independence, we shall have a well founded title to claim from her justice, equal rights of citizenship, as well as the price of our blood spilt under your eyes, and of our common exertions for her defence, under your auspicious conduct; rights rendered more dear to us by the remembrance of former hardships."†

The Father of his Country thus replied:

"As mankind become more liberal they will be more apt to allow that all those who conduct themselves as worthy members of the community, are equally entitled to the protection of civil government. I hope ever to see America among the foremost nations in examples of justice and liberality. And I presume that your fellow-citizens will not forget the patriotic part which you took in the accomplishment of their revolution, and the establishment of their government; or the important assistance which they received from a nation [France] in which the Roman Catholic religion is professed."‡

It is unnecessary to refer to the other wars in which our country has engaged, in proof of Catholic valor, nor to the part taken by Catholics in the arts of peace. That they have faithfully supported the Constitution and signally contributed to our national greatness, is beyond dispute; and we, their descendants, rejoice exceedingly that there is no part, from base to pinnacle, of the magnificent structure of American freedom to which our sires and ourselves have not given a full share of labor and sacrifice.

In thus co-operating in the establishment of America's foundation, strength, and greatness, we have felt that we have been performing our duty to God, as well as to our country; for we do

*"Washington and the American Republic." Vol. I., p. 464.
†Brent, "Biographical Sketch of Abp. Carroll," p. 146.
‡Sparks, "Life of Washington," Vol. XII., p. 178.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

not doubt that the founding of these United States, their Constitution, their progress, their prosperity, are but the unfolding of the designs of the Most High. Indeed, we recognize it as certain that every nation, in its unwritten Constitution born with the people, of which the written Constitution is the more or less perfect expression, manifests its mission, and the destiny for which it has been formed by the Almighty. The Christian student of history is convinced of this truth, although he may not, in every instance, find it possible to give to a people its due setting, amid the historical fragments of ages and events.

Convinced that men came from God by creation, and go back to Him by grace, by sanctification, and that the race must continue until the heavenly thrones, left vacant by the defeated and fallen hosts, shall have been filled by the regenerated children of men, he realizes that, in laying the foundations of the world, God had a determined purpose in view, and that He guides and directs all things toward its accomplishment.

In a beautiful mosaic, every stone has its appropriate place, its requisite color, its due relation to the whole and to the adjoining parts. When the entire design has been completed, under the hand and mind of the skillful artist, then only is the full effect perceptible; so, in the history of the world, in the career of nations, in the creation and sanctification of men, every event, every act, has its proper bearing, and tends toward the building up and the bringing to perfection of the chief end of the Almighty—His own glory and the eternal welfare of men.

It is true that, when we approach man, a new factor, free will, enters into the attainment of a nation's destiny; and, therefore, nations, like individuals, may culpably fail to comply with God's will. But the great general plan of Providence is always accomplished. As the tiny stream, trickling down the mountain side and running through the meadows, joined by other streamlets, becomes a river, and, diverted from its course by the handiwork of man, here turns a mill, there slakes a city's thirst, ever seeks the ocean's unfathomable depths; so human events, shaped and controlled by Omnipotence, and moving always onward, bring the divine plan to ultimate perfection.

Who can doubt the providential mission of the Hebrews; the care, guidance and preservation exercised over them by Jehovah, all looking forward to the great, pivotal event of the centuries, the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

birth of the Messiah? The thinker will not be inclined to deny that Assyria, Babylon, Persia, Greece and Rome held their special places in the designs of Heaven. It is evident that the Romans broke down the barriers between nations, and prepared the world for the sowing of the Gospel seed.

America, too, has her mission and her destiny. God has singled her out among the nations to accomplish His most cherished designs for the freedom, the elevation and the sanctification of the individual and of society.

One of the brightest minds which this country has produced thus outlines the mission of the United States:

"The American Republic has a mission, and is chosen of God for the realization of a great idea. It has been chosen not only to continue the work assigned to Greece and Rome, but to accomplish a greater work than was assigned to either. * * * Its idea is liberty, indeed, but liberty with law, and law with liberty. Yet its mission is not so much the realization of liberty as the realization of the true idea of the state, which secures at once the authority of the public and the freedom of the individual—the sovereignty of the people without social despotism, and individual freedom without anarchy. * * * The Greek and Roman republics asserted the state to the detriment of individual freedom. * * * The American Republic has been instituted by Providence to realize the freedom of each with advantage to the other."*

Convinced of the reality and the sublimity of America's mission, rejoicing that he participates in it, the American Catholic sings with an enthusiastic patriotism not surpassed by that of any of his fellow-citizens:

"My native country, thee,
Land of the noble free,
Thy name I love;
I love thy rocks and rills,
Thy woods and templed hills,
My heart with rapture thrills
Like that above."

Beyond doubt, the rights, the principles of liberty and of justice set forth in the American Constitution, and guaranteed to all citizens, justify these sentiments and these aspirations.

The author already mentioned thus refers to the rights secured by the Constitution:

"Our government is a free government; this is its boast. It is so in fact; not precisely because it is a popular government, for the people may play the tyrant as well as kings and emperors, and the arbitrary

*Brownson, "The American Republic," pp. 4 and 5.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

will of a majority is as incompatible with true liberty as any other arbitrary will; but because it is founded on the principle that all men are equal before the state, and that every man has certain inalienable rights, called with us the 'Rights of Man,' which it is bound by its very Constitution to recognize and protect. * * * Among these rights is the right of conscience, or the right before the state of every citizen to choose his own religion, and to worship God as his own conscience dictates, so long as his conscience is not made a pretext for violating the equal rights of others, disturbing the peace, or outraging public decency. As all are held to be equal before the state, this right of conscience must be held by the government sacred and inviolable in the case of every citizen, or subject of the state. * * * My religion is my conscience; my conscience is my right, and included in that liberty which the state recognizes, and is instituted to protect. Every citizen can say as much of his religion. * * * My church is my right, is included in my right as an American citizen; and she has the right to be here, because I have the right myself to be here, and to have my own religion. My right to have my own religion is my right to have that religion, as I am bound by it in conscience to hold it."*

These logical conclusions from the Constitution of the United States apply as well to the Constitutions of the several States. They are just as explicit in declaring that there shall be no discrimination against American citizens by reason of their religion, and that their religion shall be fully protected.

In the light of these principles, which I consider incontrovertible, Catholics, as American citizens, have rights even when there is question of their religion. I do not expect those who are ignorant of the nature, tendencies and mission of the Republic, and blinded through prejudice to their own infidelity to the sacred truths underlying the Constitution, to admit the reasoning of the learned authority whom I have quoted at some length. His conclusions, however, will be admitted and valued by all who are qualified to speak on the subject, by all thoughtful, conscientious Americans, lovers of the Constitution, anxious to see its God-given principles develop, and to assist in the fulfillment of our country's mission and destiny.

The question now naturally arises: Are Catholics in the United States permitted to enjoy their Constitutional rights in their integrity; are they allowed the free exercise of their religion; does the flag guarantee and protect them in rights equivalent to those of every other citizen; are there any grievances of which, as American citizens, we ought to complain? Here I shall direct attention to our religious rights in penal, charitable and

*Brownson's Works, Vol. XII., pp. 20, 21, 23.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

educational institutions under public control. Nothing can be more reasonable than our demands regarding liberty of conscience in these institutions. We ask that the priest be allowed to preach the Catholic doctrine to Catholic adults, and to teach Catholic children the Catholic catechism; to offer Mass, so that Catholics may be present at it; to administer the sacraments; and that Catholics shall not be compelled to listen to non-Catholic teaching, nor to participate in any worship except their own. In a word, we claim for Catholic clergymen the right to enter our State institutions, at seasonable times, to give the benefits of the Catholic religion to Catholics, and we demand that the system of worship and of religious teaching at present existing in many institutions—a system which leads to proselytism—shall be abolished.

The Constitutions of the United States and of the several States guarantee the rights of conscience to the inmates of public institutions. Why, then, are Catholics obliged to be present at non-Catholic prayers and instructions? Why should clergymen be subjected to annoyance, and often to harshness, when bringing the Catholic inmates the consolations of religion? It is true we have succeeded in gaining a portion of our rights in some institutions, but this has been the result of a long and arduous struggle against injustice.

Hence, in my letter to the Ancient Order of Hibernians, assembled in National Convention, this year, in Boston, I advised that they, in union with other societies composed of Catholics, should endeavor to procure a proportionate representation of Catholics on the Boards of Management of all public institutions. This is necessary if we are to enjoy freedom of conscience; for, as only a Catholic can fully appreciate our position in relation to religious worship, religious instruction, and moral training, especially in reformatories, he alone is qualified to obtain and protect our Constitutional rights.

At the same time, and in my Trenton address to the Knights of Columbus, I referred to the treatment of our Indian Schools, and to strengthen my position I quoted from a letter, issued with a view to obtaining funds, which bore the names of Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishops Ryan and Kain:

"Despite the fact that Religious Orders and other Catholic bodies have equipped schools for the education of the Indian children, in full

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

confidence that the government would not reverse its recognized and successful policy of subsidizing these schools—yet in the height of their success and in spite of their doing the work cheaper and better than the government itself could do it, we find that the subsidy has been for the greater part and will eventually be entirely withdrawn, and that these well founded works of Catholic benevolence, begun in good faith and with great expenditure of time and money, are to be abandoned to their fate."

Fanaticism opposed our legitimate demands, and the cry went forth: "The schools are sectarian." This is the old subterfuge to which our enemies constantly resort. They would rather have the Indian children grow up without religion than taught the tenets of the Catholic Church. Many otherwise well-informed persons are deceived by the term "non-sectarian." There is no form of religion to which it can apply, since every religion has some sort of worship and doctrine, and, therefore, even in the sense of the bigots, it is sectarian. To be non-sectarian would require the absence of all religion. To dilute Christianity beyond recognition, and to call it non-sectarian, is to fall back upon that refined paganism so common in this age, and to oppose Christianity itself.

How inconsistent are the fanatics! They are daily clamoring for the conversion of the inhabitants of our new possessions to a faith that is rapidly undermining its own foundation, the Bible; while at home the poor Indians are doomed to extinction, and millions of our countrymen are left without Christian teaching.

Spain has many a crime to answer for; but she has allowed the Church to sit down like a mother, amid the children of the forest and the plain, to save the native races, and teach them the doctrines of Christianity and the arts of civilization.

On the Amendment brought up this year, giving the Secretary of the Interior the right to extend the contract with certain schools for Indian pupils, because the government possessed inadequate accommodation, Senator Vest spoke as follows:

"The only objection I could possibly make to it is that the amendment does not go far enough. * * * There are people in this country, unfortunately, who believe that an Indian child had better die an utter unbeliever * * * than to be educated by the Society of Jesus or in the Catholic Church. I am very glad to say that I have not the slightest sympathy with that sort of bigotry and fanaticism. * * * Some years ago, I was assigned by the Senate to duty upon the Committee on Indian Affairs, * * * to examine the Indian schools in Wyoming and Montana. * * * I crossed that great buffalo expanse of country,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

where you can now see only the wallows and trails of those extinct animals, and I went to all these schools. I wish to say now what I have said before in the Senate, * * * that I did not see in all my journey * * * a single school that was doing any educational work worthy of the name of educational work, unless it was under the control of the Jesuits. I did not see a single government school * * * where there was any work done at all."*

During this year, there was under consideration, in the House of Representatives, the District of Columbia Appropriation Bill. Representative Fitzgerald, of Boston, in showing the inconsistency of certain appropriations, thus expressed himself:

"A great hue and cry have been raised in various sections of this country during the past ten years as to the propriety of Congress making appropriations which some people choose to term sectarian; and, in certain sections of the country, this matter has been made an issue, with the result that the members of this House, when matters of this kind have been discussed, and questions of this nature have come before the House, have voted in accordance with the promises made in their district before they came to the House, and not at all in accordance with the principles of justice and fair play which should characterize the proceedings of this body.

"I find in the present appropriation bill which is up for consideration at the present time, in the matter of appropriations for private charities, $4,000 given to the Women's Christian Association, and $1,000 for the Young Women's Christian Home, organizations and associations which are essentially religious in every particular; and yet no question has ever been raised by this House or by the Committee as to the propriety of making these appropriations. No charge of sectarianism has ever been advanced upon the floor of this House against either of these institutions; yet every member must admit that religious teachings and religious training are the essential factors, and justly so, in the work of both these institutions. * * * What is the condition of affairs here in this District? There is a man occupying the position of Superintendent of Charities, who is, in my opinion, one of the meanest bigots in the United States. * * * This is the man to whom this House of Congress has turned over the care and custody of the orphan children of this great city. * * * To whom must we look to protect these children, to guide them, to bring them up as they should be brought up? The Board of Children's Guardians. * * * These children are taken by this man, Lewis, to be placed in suitable homes in different parts of the country; and, with a man of his narrow views and prejudices, what guarantee is there that a child of Catholic parents will be placed in a Catholic family?"*

In relation to this bill, Senator Vest said:

"I have been of the opinion * * * that every sort of charity and every sort of school that kept the boys and girls of the country out of the penitentiary, out of the house of correction, out of the jails, and

*Cong. Record, Vol. 33, n. 94, p. 4120.
*Cong. Record, Vol. 33, n. 146, p. 7411.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

made of them honest, industrious, law-abiding citizens, ought to be encouraged, and that whenever it was done, if what was done inured to the benefit of public order and public decency, the Congress of the United States should encourage that work, and should have it done in the best and most economical way."*

Alas, the Constitution plays strange antics under the influence of unscrupulous manipulators. To-night, we go to bed firm in the belief that the appropriation to certain institutions will be continued, to-morrow we awake to find this cannot be done, because they are "sectarian."

We have been accused of opposition to the present system of public schools, and we certainly look upon it as detrimental to the best interests of the United States. Let no one imagine, however, that we are opposed to a system of public education; on the contrary, we contend that it is absolutely necessary for the permanency of free institutions. What we object to is education without religion; the payment of taxes for the support of schools to which we cannot conscientiously send our children. Religious education is even more necessary than secular, even if we value only the temporal welfare of the individual and society. We shall, however, be told: "Teach religion in your churches." No one, I presume, will accuse Catholics of neglect in this matter, and yet we are satisfied that such teaching alone is insufficient.

There are three great educators: the home, the church, and the school. Even these, powerful as they are, acting under the most favorable circumstances, are sometimes unable to cultivate the degraded and the obstinate. Great, then, is the danger to be feared from a defective system of schools. Consider the result to which this system has contributed, as shown by the present religious condition of the United States. Our population is over seventy millions. There are from ten to twelve millions of Catholics, and the most enthusiastic Protestants do not claim beyond eighteen or twenty millions. The remaining millions acknowledge allegiance to no Church whatsoever.

I am far from maintaining that the public-school system is the sole cause of this religious indifference. It is clear, however, that people cannot be made religious without teaching them religion. When we reflect that men without religion are, as a rule, men without morality, religious education assumes great importance in the eyes of every patriotic American. Tell me not of isolated ex-

*Cong. Record, Vol. 33, n. 126, p. 5978.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

amples of men who have scoffed at religion, and yet have lived apparently pure lives, have respected the rights of their fellow-men, and have been faithful to their family relations. Such qualities are not products of irreligion. They have sprung from Christian enlightenment, from the influence of the principles of Christianity, which have permeated society during the past nineteen centuries.

Religion is absolutely necessary for the perpetuation of our free institutions, and the Catholic puts himself on record as an ardent patriot, when he raises his voice in its defense, and declares that our schools should be devoted to religious as well as to secular education.

Speaking of the influence of religion on social institutions, Mr. Bryce says:

"No one is so thoughtless as not to sometimes ask himself what would befall mankind if the solid fabric of belief on which their morality has hitherto rested, or at least been deemed by them to rest, were suddenly to break up and vanish under the influence of new views of nature, as the ice-fields split and melt when they have floated down into a warmer sea. * * * So sometimes, standing in the midst of a great American city, and watching the throngs of eager figures streaming hither and thither, marking the sharp contrasts of poverty and wealth, an increasing mass of wretchedness, and an increasing display of luxury, knowing that before long a hundred millions of men will be living between ocean and ocean under this one government—a government which their own hands have made, and which they feel to be the work of their own hands—one is startled by the thought of *what might befall this huge, yet delicate, fabric of laws and commerce* and social institutions, were the foundations it has rested on to crumble away. Suppose that all these men ceased to believe that there was any power above them, any future before them, anything in heaven or earth but what their senses told them of; suppose that their consciousness of individual force and responsibility, already dwarfed by the overwhelming power of the multitude, and the fatalistic submission it engenders, were further weakened by the feeling that their swiftly fleeting life was rounded by a perpetual sleep. Would the moral code stand unshaken, and with it the reverence for law, the sense of duty towards the community, and even towards the generations yet to come? * * * History, if she cannot give a complete answer to this question, tells us that hitherto civilized society has rested on religion, and that free government has prospered best among religious peoples."*

Irreligion, indeed, has not made such progress among us as to bring about these dire results, but its seeds are sown and cultivated by a system of education, which has been instrumental in leaving

*"The American Commonwealth," Vol. II., p. 597.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

millions without the blessings of Christianity. Still, if our fellow-countrymen must have this school system, to quarrel with them is useless. We should, however, not be prevented from enjoying its benefits in so far as our conscience will permit. I am far from presuming to speak for the Catholic hierarchy of this country; nevertheless, I would suggest that our parochial schools be left just as they are, that a Board of Examiners be appointed to determine whether our teachers impart the secular education required by the State, and then let payment be made for each child's secular education. The State is not required to pay for religious education, nor to support in any way the Catholic Church; it is asked simply to grant Catholics full participation in all their Constitutional rights.

Here let me introduce another subject. Why were not several Catholic members appointed on the Commissions to our new possessions? They could have appreciated the civil and religious conditions of those countries, and suggested suitable measures for their adjustment. I do not hesitate to affirm that for a non-Catholic, even with the best disposition, it would be morally impossible to render an impartial report, or to make just recommendations.

Instead of approaching, in the spirit of a broad and enlightened statesmanship, the problems presented, the prejudices against our government sown by the Spaniards were allowed to be increased by the conduct of our soldiers, and the desecration of the churches wherein the solemn rites so dear to a Catholic people had been daily performed.

Another outrage is the Cuban Civil Marriage Law. A petition has been presented to General Wood asking for a repeal of the order issued in May, 1899, by General Brooke, whereby civil marriage alone is declared legally valid. How could an American so far forget the traditions and laws of his own country as to inflict this importation from the infidel governments of Europe upon a Catholic people? Why not have the same law there as in the United States, and declare that marriage solemnized before a minister of religion shall be recognized as legal by the civil authorities? This thoughtless, careless act of legislation demonstrates to a nicety the utter disregard, among a certain class in this country, of the rights of Catholics.

Again, we are entitled to a greater number of chaplains in the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

army and navy. So far as I have been able to ascertain, there are only three Catholic chaplains in the navy, notwithstanding that a large proportion of the marines are of the Catholic faith; in the army there are but four Catholic chaplains.

In the late war, many a brave Catholic lad breathed forth his soul to his Creator without the consolations of that religion which planted patriotism in his heart, simply because the men in authority ignored our religious rights. These are some of the grievances under which Catholics labor, and they are certainly serious enough to justify a movement towards redress.

I cannot claim the honor of first suggesting concerted action among Catholic societies. This subject has been widely discussed for several years, and I thought proper to draw the attention of two of the largest organizations composed of Catholics to such a movement, since it certainly is our duty to select some legitimate means of obtaining our rights under the Constitutions of the States and the nation. Language cannot more plainly declare than my Boston letter and my Trenton address, that I have not the remotest idea of promoting or even suggesting a Catholic political party. It will be necessary, of course, to have organization; all societies composed of Catholics should endeavor to touch at certain points, so that, while each retains its identity and pursues its own aims, there may be a bond of union enabling them to exert a concerted influence; but the formation of a political party is not contemplated.

Our position is simply this. We are American citizens, entitled to certain rights, and these we must possess. Bigotry shall not be allowed to deprive us of the exercise and enjoyment of any of them. We ask no favors, we beg no privileges; but we demand that our religion shall not be made a bar to the attainment of our rights under the Constitution. It is not to bring our religion into politics that an appeal is made to the Catholic laity of America; on the contrary, it is to keep religion out of politics. American citizens, because they are Catholics, are discriminated against, and we are determined to unite for the purpose of defending ourselves against this un-American bigotry. Nor is this a movement to obtain political office for Catholics, as such; it is, however, a campaign of education, and it extends to non-Catholics as well as to Catholics. We shall not stand alone in this struggle. I have the greatest confidence in the intelligence and justice of my fellow-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

countrymen; I feel assured that all true Americans will assist us to the utmost of their ability by legitimate methods to redress grievances, to obtain our rights, and to resent insult to our religion.

My experience leads me to the conclusion that a policy of silence has been very detrimental to our interests. That great man, General Grant, is related to have given the following advice regarding a certain question which was brought to his knowledge: "These people," said the President, "get together, call meetings, get up petitions, and send deputies down here, and thus they often secure their object. Now, that is what you Catholics should do. Do as they do. Get together, make out a statement of your case, and back it with as much force as you can muster." This advice is applicable to local boards, State Legislatures, the National Congress, and other departments of government.

In what channels shall the influence of this movement, or organization, manifest itself? This question will be answered in due time. Able leaders will determine upon legitimate, honorable, and Constitutional methods, as the cause grows and prospers, and passes beyond the stage of theory and suggestion to that of practice and action.

JAMES A. MCFAUL.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE FILIPINOS' VAIN HOPE OF INDEPENDENCE.

BY MARRION WILCOX, EDITOR OF "HARPER'S HISTORY OF THE WAR IN THE PHILIPPINES."

MR. JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE once protested, in very civil terms, against a besetting sin of his fellow historians. "In life," he wrote, "as we actually experience it, motives slide one into the other; and the most careful analysis will fail adequately to sift them. In history, from the effort to make our conceptions distinct, we pronounce upon these intricate matters with unhesitating certainty, and we lose sight of truth in the desire to make it truer than itself."

Precisely this desire to make the truth truer than itself seems to have urged on both friends and foes of the Administration's Philippine policy, with the result that, as we read the speeches and essays on this subject which have received the largest share of public attention recently, we find the conceptions of each advocate and partisan "distinct," indeed—so distinct that the confusion of mind produced by their flat contradictions, when taken all together, is rather appalling, in view of the urgency of the matter to be decided. Thus, Mr. Hoar, in his speech delivered in the United States Senate on April 17th, 1900, said that he for one was ready to answer the question, "What should we do in this difficult emergency?" He would declare now "that we will not take these islands to govern them *against their will.*" But Colonel Charles Denby, late United States Minister to China, and member of the Philippine Commission, writing in June, 1900, under the caption, "Do We Owe Independence to the Filipinos?" asserted that the war was waged, practically, by a single tribe of natives, while the majority of the Filipinos were friendly to us. "If that be so," he reasons, "how far shall the doctrine that we must have the consent of the governed be construed to extend? Does it mean that we

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

must have the consent of all the governed, or does it mean the majority of the governed?" Again, Mr. Carl Schurz, replying to Senator Foraker, placed the responsibility for beginning hostilities upon President McKinley, charging him with having substantially declared war against the Philippine Islanders, striving for their freedom and independence, and with having provoked—directly provoked—an armed conflict. On the other hand, turning to the much quoted volume of the last annual report of military operations, which is devoted chiefly to campaigns in the Philippines, we come upon the commanding General's statement: "Never since the time Aguinaldo returned to Cavité, in May of 1898, and placed himself under the masterful spirit of Mabini, had he the slightest intention to accept the kind offices and assistance of the United States, except as they might be employed to hold Spain throttled, while he worked the scheme of self-aggrandizement;" that his plans were ripe for an outbreak, and that the publication of the views and intentions of the American Government (the particular act referred to by Mr. Schurz) was seized upon as a pretext that had been "eagerly waited for." I might easily give a score of such examples, if that would make the moral plainer. The facts are accessible—the very same set of facts, at the service of all—and the confusion is quite unnecessary. We have only to stop trying to make the truth truer than itself.

In this paper, I shall outline a single subject in Philippine history, having in mind especially a difference of opinion or of teaching that may be bluntly stated thus: The Americans promised, and did *not* promise, that the Filipinos should have independence. Rather than undertake to reconcile conflicting views on many points, let us confine our attention now to the most interesting question of all.

The war appears to us a thing of recent origin, growth and subsidence; but, if we take the natives' point of view, we shall realize that history scarcely records a more protracted struggle. The Spanish occupation, beginning in 1565, when Legaspi landed in Cebú, was extended to include Manila and a little of the adjacent territory in Luzon five years later; then the old Spanish adventurer declared that the small native town at the mouth of the Pasig River should be the capital of the archipelago, and proclaimed the sovereignty of his royal master over the whole group

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of islands. This was only his bold-hearted promise, however, destined to be never perfectly justified. He did not announce an accomplished fact, but rather laid upon his successors the obligation to increase their holdings by attacking one tribal leader after another and conquering each district separately. If the natives had ever established at Manila, or elsewhere, a central government which all recognized, the task would have been comparatively easy; for on the overthrow of an old ruler a new master might readily have taken his place. Instead of this, we have the spectacle of a European nation attempting, decade after decade, through more than three centuries, to cultivate a sense of nationality which at the outset had not even germinated—to bring together under one ruler all the distinct elements of the population, though each hated and mistrusted all the others, loving its own freedom with savage intensity.

We have abundant evidence that the inter-tribal hatred was more intimate and ineradicable than that aroused by the Spaniards, and this we should assume were direct proof not at hand, for we know that the principal divisions of the population represent earlier invasions, successive waves of infinitely more cruel conquest. Spain's rule, in itself considered, was not by any means altogether and always intolerable, though we find Senator Hoar saying: "The people of the Philippine Islands have never submitted themselves willingly to Spain; there has been no time for two centuries when they would not have been free from the yoke if they could; their history has been a history of cruelty and oppression on one side, of resistance and the aspiration for freedom on the other"—a too emphatic statement, which was probably due to confusing the Spanish administration in the Philippines with that in Cuba. But in Cuba the Indians were exterminated, scarcely a trace of them remaining; whereas the native population of the Philippines has increased ten-fold, certainly, and probably twenty-fold, since Legaspi's day. The crimes of Spanish officials at Havana were so impressed upon the imagination of Americans in 1898, that our people, reasoning from the known to the unknown, have quite naturally assumed the existence of equal enormities in the government at Manila; whereas the temptation to adopt cruel methods was not presented by the comparatively poor dominion in the East Indies. The Spanish force in the Far East was at no time commensurate with such an undertaking, and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the original design of Philip II., to conquer the islands in order to Christianize the natives, gave its shaping to the Spanish policy. A well-trained observer, Sir John Bowring, Governor of Hong Kong, gave his impression of the state of affairs, during an interval of peace half a century ago, in his book, "A Visit to the Philippine Islands" (London, 1859). "The government," he says, "with some remarkable exceptions, appears to have been of a mild and paternal character." If this judgment errs somewhat on the side of leniency, it may for that reason help us to recognize the truth in regard to the old régime, which lies between the "cruelty and oppression" of Senator Hoar and the "mild and paternal character" of Sir John.

We shall be misled if we persist in believing that Spanish folly was the sole or chief cause of native opposition; the cause is to be sought in the very nature of Tagálog and Visayan and "Moro" Malays, Ilocanos, highlanders brown and black, and all the rest—people, in brief, divided and dispersed among hundreds of islands, in dense forests, among inacessible mountains. We know how such conditions, anywhere in the world, foster a spirit of independence. Of course, there has always been secret or open resistance in some quarter, so that each year produced its plot, each generation its revolt. Thus, in 1622, the natives of Bohol Island "threw off the yoke," as Mr. Hoar would say, and, under a leader named Dagóhoy, held their own against the Spanish troops for thirty-five years; thus, the eastern provinces of Mindanao maintained a guerilla warfare from 1629 to 1632. Sámar islanders in 1649 resisted the government's attempt to press them into the King's service (as descendants of the same stiff-necked people refused to take orders from Aguinaldo in 1899); that revolt spread to Albay Province in Luzon, to Masbate Island, to Cebú—even to Zamboanga, in Mindanao. Nearly the whole of central and northwestern Luzon was aflame with revolt in 1660, when the armed followers of the rebel chief, Andrés Malong, numbered forty thousand men. And so to the end of the seventeenth century and through the eighteenth a series of violent outbreaks may be traced; and when we reach the nineteenth century, we recall Novales's attempt to seize the capital in 1823, the disturbances in Cebú in 1827, the riots which culminated in the murder of the Spanish governor of Negros Island in 1844, the Cavité insurrection in 1872, and that most important revolutionary movement

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

which began in 1896. As we review this series, we find that the immediate causes of these outbreaks—the provocations or pretexts—were as diverse as possible, while their common factor was simply the savage or half-savage impulse to fight against any effort to curtail the traditional freedom, especially when the aim of such efforts was to bring the native tribes into relations of concord with hereditary foes—and with each other.

The insurrection of 1896 must be considered by itself, for that occurred after the natives had begun to learn organization, and, through their participation in the Philippine Assembly, which Spain conceded to them thirty years ago, to crave a full measure of political equality, of which they had just a taste; nor should we forget the rather tantalizing vistas that had been granted to an earlier generation, when deputies or representatives from the Philippines sat in the Spanish Cortés, at various times between 1809 and 1837. Finally, some of the barriers that separated tribe from tribe had been broken down; there was a glimmer, here and there, of a *common* aspiration—a drawing together upon rare occasions, though still with suspicion and reluctance. Señor Mabini prefers to link together the movements of 1872 and 1896, as though the agitation had been practically continuous; he speaks of the work of "young Filipinos," who, as students in Spain, sought to make known the real wants of the Philippine people, and who founded a paper in which they demanded "the promulgation in these islands of the Spanish Constitution, and complete assimilation of the same on equal terms with any of the Spanish provinces on the continent." The Spaniards turned a deaf ear to these demands, he tells us, on the ground that they were proffered by a few "idealists," and saying, always at the instigation of the friars interested in maintaining the *status quo,* that the people were still in a savage state—that is, in effect, they had not undergone the evolution in character which would enable them to make good use of the privileges claimed.

In other words, to the heterogeneous and very unmanageable mass of the people, who knew nothing of the Spanish Constitution, nor wished to hear of it, were superadded small groups of men who had travelled and read; enthusiasts whose enthusiasm in most cases was perfectly genuine, though their ideas and phrases, borrowed from the French Republic and our own, seemed strangely, rather pathetically, out of place. And now, how plainly the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

several classes or elements stand out from their troubled background, if we will but look: the handful of idealists (for the Spanish characterization was just) whose names became familiar as martyrs, members of Aguinaldo's Cabinet, or insurgent generals; the densely ignorant majority, fixed in their hostility to any invasion; a wavering, half-educated minority, easily influenced, without principle, now friends, now foes, in sudden, shameless transition; last of all, the friars, naturally upholding the order they themselves had established (and in which some of them had sinned egregiously), attacked as obstructionists by all advocates of change! With the first element alone have we had diplomatic intercourse; of the second element, our soldiers have killed large numbers, though as yet a small percentage; from the third element, we have appointed local rulers and magistrates, who have collected funds for the support of the insurrection, while safeguarding themselves, their families and near friends under the Stars and Stripes; the duty of dealing with the fourth element is one of the difficult tasks assigned to Judge Taft and his associates on the present Filipino Commission.

If I were writing as a dramatist or a novelist, I should like to represent the situation otherwise; for it would make an appeal of classic simplicity, convincing, admitting of only one reply, if I should say that an entire people had united in an aspiration, looking to us for its fulfillment. But we are at the moment obedient to facts. The Filipino people have never united, either in war or in peace, for protest or for appeal. We have never negotiated with them or questioned them as a whole, or through individuals who could be properly regarded as the authorized representatives of a majority. They have never told us what they wish or expect, and we do not know what is the real desire to-day of those uninterpreted millions, except as we may search the records, sincerely trying to understand their permanent characteristics and the history of their relations with the Spaniards and each other.

To win recruits for the movement among people of their own class, the idealists founded Masonic lodges at Manila, and organized the Philippine League; but comparatively little was effected by secret societies, until one was formed which made its appeal to the lower orders by a crude ritual based upon ancient, savage customs. This was the Katipunan Society, otherwise known as K. K. K., these initials representing the words *Kalaastaasan Ka-*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

galanggalang Katipunan, signifying "the very exalted and honorable union." Even this, though it throve remarkably during the years 1893-96, fell far short of the proportions of a national movement: many thousands of members were enrolled, but they were chiefly Tagálogs, inhabiting a few provinces of southwestern Luzon. Denunciation and imprisonment of the ringleaders forced matters to a crisis; violent methods of repression begot violence, and on August 30th, 1896, the first serious engagement of the insurrection took place—the beginning of that final revolt against the Spaniards which was to be transformed into a movement against the Americans. And, as such things happen everywhere, a popular leader had been found—a young man, the secret of whose power was that, in his character, he more nearly resembled the mass of the natives than did the clever *mestizos* who have been characterized, in the reports of our officers and the letters of our correspondents, as "the brains of the revolution."

Aguinaldo showed the quality of his leadership in his first proclamation, dated at Old Cavité, October 31st, 1896, by calling upon the people to support a republican government "like that of the United States of America;" but at the end of the fighting, in the secret treaty of Biac-na-bató, he was forced to admit a temporary defeat and the indefinite postponement of his ideal. The recognition of a Philippine Republic, as a sovereign state, seemed, in December, 1897, more remote than ever; for the leaders of the revolt went into exile, the patriotic forces, for their part, agreeing to disband, give up their arms, and abandon the places held by them, while the government promised little more than a programme of reforms. Measured by a Western standard of promptness, neither party quite lived up to the agreement. The insurgents cherished thoughts of further resistance during the months when the government was "creeping like snail unwillingly" toward the realization of the concessions. But, on the other hand, we must remember that one of the clauses of the Biac-na-bató treaty, according to both the Filipino and Spanish versions of it, provided in effect for an amnesty of three years, during which period the promised reforms should be introduced and developed. This shows plainly enough that neither party expected, or had the right to expect, immediate fulfillment. In point of fact, the whole matter was thrown into the background by the great events of the next spring. It is, therefore, not merely uncharitable, but obvi-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ously unjust, to lay stress upon the non-performance of difficult conditions which, in the most favorable circumstances, could not have been hurried. A more important point for our consideration is this: The Americans came upon the scene when such matters were still pending, when vital questions were still open, and while heartburning and rancor were increased through fear of new injuries and treacheries. We shall misapprehend some of the manifestations of hostility toward American troops and American measures, unless we bear in mind that a movement begun against the Spaniards had not altogether ceased in May, 1898; that its forces only waited for such a signal as Aguinaldo's return to show that they utterly repudiated the hollow treaty of Biac-na-baté; and that, inevitably, much of the hatred with which the Filipinos regarded their ancient enemy was transferred to a new object when Merritt's army supplanted Augustin's. At least among the more ignorant natives, there was such prejudice as they would have displayed if their enemy had changed merely in name—not in nature, practices or motives.

The idealists had played their best trump, and had lost; the inherited protest against foreign domination had been intensified by personal experience, and one more failure had been added to the long list of futile efforts.

What happened then seemed to them a miracle. From the other side of the world, a nation which had been the idealists' model suddenly interposed; a people representing to their minds all that was generous, disinterested and chivalrous (they have written out their views in full to this effect, and we may read them in their public documents) would fight with them against a common enemy, and would compel success! Nearly six months filled with illusions followed—months of vain hope, for which you will scarcely find a parallel by searching the stories of nations.

Major-General E. S. Otis says, in the "Annual Report of the Major-General Commanding the Army:"*

"It is well known that a small band of men, natives of Luzon, and leaders of the rebellion of 1896 against Spain, were induced by the latter country, through a money consideration, to remove permanently from the islands. It is also well known that, after the destruction of the Spanish fleet in the harbor of Manila, and the blockade of that city by the United States' naval forces, a number of these men returned to the vicinity of Manila, and undoubtedly with the aid and consent of the agents of the United States government. They were doubtless

*February, 1900, Part 2, page 365.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

encouraged by citizens of the United States, and others, acting without authority, to attempt the organization of what they were pleased to denominate an independent government for the Philippine people, they themselves to become its controlling element."

Now let us ask, Who were these "agents of the United States" and "citizens of the United States" who aided and consented to the return of Aguinaldo and his associates, or encouraged them to organize an independent government? The "others" are not important, except to partisans who are vainly and quite unnecessarily attempting to shift responsibility to English shoulders.

On May 5th, 1898, Mr. E. Spencer Pratt, Consul-General of the United States at Singapore, sent to the Department of State at Washington a copy of the Singapore *Free Press,* containing a report of the departure of Aguinaldo to join Commodore Dewey, and stated that the facts were, in the main, correctly given. That report contained the following sentence:

"General Aguinaldo's policy embraces the independence of the Philippines, whose internal affairs would be controlled under European and American advisers. American protection would be desirable temporarily, on the same lines as that which might be instituted hereafter in Cuba."

We need not inquire more closely what passed between the two men at Singapore, or what professions were made by this "agent of the United States." We may wholly disregard Aguinaldo's version of the promises that were held out to him. All we need to do, at present, is to plant our feet securely upon firm ground, as it were, of admissions contrary to self-interest. Subsequently, at Hong-Kong, there were interviews in the course of which another "agent" of the United States, Consul-General Wildman, discussed with Aguinaldo the probable course of the American government; and, as the precise nature of the assurances then exchanged is in dispute, we confine ourselves here also to facts which are of record. Thus, on June 10th, 1898, Aguinaldo addressed an appeal to President McKinley "in the name of this people, which trusts blindly in you . . . to leave it free and independent;" in the proclamation of June 18th, he asserted that the aspiration of his whole life, the final object of all his wishes and efforts, was the independence of the people of the Philippines; on June 23d, he issued a decree whose first article stated that the aim of the revolutionary government should be "to fight for the independence of the Philippines, until it shall be expressly recognized

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

by the free nations, including Spain, and to prepare the country for its organization as a true republic." On June 25th, Mr. Wildman wrote to Aguinaldo from Hong-Kong:

"I have vouched for your honesty and earnestness of purpose to the President of the United States and to our people, and they are ready to extend their hand to you as a brother, and aid you in every laudable ambition. I give you my assurance that you can always call upon me to act as your champion, should any try to slander your name. Do not forget that the United States undertook this war for the sole purpose of relieving the Cubans from the cruelties under which they were suffering, and not for the love of conquest or the hope of gain. They are actuated by precisely the same feelings toward the Filipinos."

We should also cite, in this connection, a remarkable passage in a letter written by Aguinaldo on August 1st, 1898, in reply to one from Mr. Williams, who had been United States Consul at Manila until the beginning of the war with Spain:

"I have full confidence in the generosity and philanthropy which shine in characters of gold in the history of the privileged people of the United States, and for that reason, invoking the friendship which you profess for me and the love which you have for my people, I pray you earnestly, as also the distinguished generals who represent your country in these islands, that you entreat the government at Washington to recognize the revolutionary government of the Filipinos, and I, for my part, will labor with all my power with my people that the United States shall not repent their sentiments of humanity in coming to the aid of an oppressed people. Say to the government at Washington that the Filipino people abominate savagery; that, in the midst of their past misfortunes, they have learned to love liberty, order, justice, and civil life, and that they are not able to lay aside their own wishes when their future lot and history are under discussion. Say also that I and my leaders know what we owe to our unfortunate country; that we know how to admire and are ready to imitate the disinterestedness, the abnegation, and the patriotism of the grand men of America, among whom stands pre-eminent the immortal George Washington. You and I both love the Filipinos; both see their progress, their prosperity, and their greatness. For this we should avoid any conflict which would be fatal to the interests of both people, who should always be brothers. In this you will acquire a name in the history of humanity and an ineradicable affection in the hearts of the Filipino people."

After reading this, we do not need to be told that Mr. Williams had suggested to the writer that annexation to the United States was scarcely indispensable to the happiness and glory of the islands; to get its full meaning, however, we must remember that the writer was the head of a government which already ruled in fourteen provinces of Luzon; that our navy had, a few weeks be-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fore, turned over 1,300 prisoners to the Filipinos "for safe keeping," as Admiral Dewey puts it; and that our army was being placed under obligations to the forces surrounding and besieging Manila, "without which," Aguinaldo wrote to General Otis, "you might have obtained possession of the ruins of the city, but never the rendition of the Spanish forces, who could have retired to the interior towns."

The leader of the first military expedition from the United States to the Philippines, General Thomas M. Anderson, whose command entered the Bay of Manila on the 30th of June, 1898, was in a position to learn the views actually entertained by Aguinaldo at the outset, as distinguished from those adopted by the revolutionary government and expressed through its president when their affairs were in a desperate condition. He has told the readers of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW that the Filipinos certainly thought that American agents and citizens "acting without authority," had given assurances that a Filipino government would be recognized, "probably inferring this from their acts rather than from their statements;" and, in his account of an official call that the native chief paid him, "coming with cabinet and staff and a band of music," occurs a passage unrivalled for *naïveté* in the literature of the subject. He says that Aguinaldo "asked if we, the North Americans, as he called us, intended to hold the Philippines as dependencies. I said I could not answer that, but that in one hundred and thirty years we had established no colonies. He then made this remarkable statement: 'I have studied attentively the Constitution of the United States, and I find in it no authority for colonies, and I have no fear.' It may seem that my answer was somewhat evasive, *but I was at the time trying to contract with the Filipinos for horses, carts, fuel, and forage.*" General Anderson also says that the insurgents, before consenting to withdraw from their positions in the suburbs of Manila (August 14th, 1898) insisted upon receiving a promise "to reinstate them in their present positions on our making peace with Spain," and that General Merritt, while stating that he could not give such a pledge, told them that they could rely on the honor of the American people.

On this occasion, General Merritt made known the terms of his proclamation to the Filipino people. "The government established among you by the United States Army is a government of military

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

occupation"—thus his proclamation reads; directions are given and assurances offered which shall hold good "while our military occupation may continue," and General Merritt declares that he has received "instructions from his government to assure the people that he has not come to wage war upon them, nor upon any party or faction among them, but to protect them in their homes, in their employments, and in their personal and religious rights." It would not have required at the time a lively imagination to foresee the flattering push that sufficed to make these smooth, round expressions of amity roll toward the goal of native desire; and we are not in doubt as to the interpretation actually put upon them, for we may read in the Malolos manifesto of January 5th, 1900, that "the American General, Señor Merritt, himself corroborated the determined and declared intention [of Aguinaldo] to make war upon the Spaniards for the reconquest of our liberty and independence in the proclamation which he addressed to the Filipinos, . . . the declaration being clearly and expressly made therein that the naval and land forces of the United States came to give us our liberty."

The conduct of General Otis in this matter was irreproachable. No feature of the account of events prior to February 4th, 1899, which he gives in his very full report, deserves more attention than the scrupulous care with which he explained to the native leader, reiterating this statement when he found opportunity, that neither he himself nor any other American officer, civil or military, had been authorized to promise that the United States would recognize the independence of the Philippine Islands—that the action of Congress must be secured before even the Executive could proclaim a definite policy, and that the policy to be proclaimed must conform to the will of the people of the United States, expressed through their representatives in Congress In effect, therefore, the commanding General warned the revolutionists to wait for a decision which would be rendered in 1900. In a letter sent on September 8th, 1898, to Aguinaldo at Malolos, he wrote:

"Thus have I endeavored with all candor and sincerity, holding nothing in reserve, to place before you the situation as understood by me, and I doubt not by the Republic which I represent. I have not been instructed as to what policy the United States intends to pursue in regard to its legitimate holdings here, and hence I am unable to give you any information on the subject."

The amended proclamation of January 4th, 1899, he says, was

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

regarded by the better class of natives as the first authoritative announcement of the attitude which the United States assumed toward the islands.

Although not the first, far and away the most enduring, impression of American intentions in regard to the future control of the Philippines was made upon the Filipino mind by the gallant gentleman who destroyed the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay. That fleet seems to us a rather poor affair, but for generations it had represented Spanish power; these were the cruisers and gunboats that had put an end to the scourge of Moro piracy. Not the Spanish army, but the fleet and the friars had dominated the archipelago. From many sources we have evidence of the universal esteem in which Admiral Dewey was held by the natives. He typified America for them: any American's saying, caught up by the people as especially favorable to their cause, of a noble and generous sound, might eventually be ascribed to him; and such ascriptions are entirely familiar, requiring no further explanation to ourselves, who will scarcely let a pithy saying rest until it has been attributed to Lincoln, or a jocose story set sail unless Senator Depew gives it clearance.

Admiral Dewey, in reply to that one of Aguinaldo's public statements which was singled out for especial notice in this country, although it is perhaps the least important—the appeal addressed to "the civilized nations" and issued from Tarlac on September 23d, 1899, not long before the disintegration of the revolutionary government—wrote a short letter which was read in the United States Senate on January 31st, 1900. "I never promised," the Admiral declared, "directly or indirectly, independence for the Filipinos. . . . He [Aguinaldo] never alluded to the word independence in any conversation with me or my officers." The emphatic and explicit denial contained in this letter seemed to dispose of the insurgents' contention, so far as Admiral Dewey was concerned, and its practical effect was to discredit the entire appeal, according to the dictum, *"falsus in uno, falsus in omnibus,"* until the subsequent publication of the admissions by Generals Otis and Anderson made a further study of the subject imperative. The phrase "directly or *indirectly,"* in the sentences quoted, is, indeed, almost a challenge to criticism. In this connection we must read from pages 111, 114 and 117 of the Appendix to the Report of the Chief of the Bureau of Navigation for the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

year 1898. A decree issued by Aguinaldo and dated at Cavité on June 18th, 1898, contained the following paragraph:

"In the face of the whole world, I have proclaimed that the aspiration of my whole life, the final object of all my wishes and efforts, is your independence [i. e., that of the people of the Philippines], because I have the inner conviction that it is also your constant longing, since independence for us means the redemption from slavery and tyranny, the recovery of lost liberty, and the admission to the concert of civilized nations."

A "Message of the President of the Philippine Revolution," dated at Cavité, June 23d, 1898, concludes with the words:

"Such a people [i. e., the people of the Philippines] is called to be great, to be one of the strongest arms of Providence to direct the destinies of humanity; such a people has sufficient resources and energy to free itself from the ruin and annihilation into which the Spanish government has plunged it, and to claim a modest but honorable seat in the concert of free nations."

These documents were sent to Admiral Dewey by Aguinaldo on July 15th, 1898, and two days later were forwarded to Washington by the Admiral with the indorsement, "For the information of the [Navy] Department, George Dewey." Again, in a dispatch from Admiral Dewey to the Secretary of the Navy, sent from Hong-Kong, July 22nd, 1898, we may read: "The following is for the Secretary of War. . . . *The people expect independence.* [Signed] Anderson, commanding. Dewey."

The comments of those whose sympathy with the natives' aspirations or whose antagonism to the Administration gives them the character of advocates, rather than of dispassionate judges, are easily surmised:—Indirectly or by implication, the promise referred to was made; inasmuch as both the Navy Department and War Department had been informed of the insurgents' aspirations, and inasmuch as the presumption in favor of granting independence was so strong, our government was committed, by its temporizing course, to acceptance of the natives' views. Such is a point of view that has much to recommend it, especially if it helps us to accept as a debt of honor the obligation to do for the Filipinos, not necessarily what a few dreamers may demand, but more and better than the mass of the people can ask or think.

But do we not here come upon an illustration of the peril of "losing sight of truth in the desire to make it truer than itself"?

In justice to the Filipinos and to ourselves, in view of the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

evidence, we can say no less, no more, than that some Americans promised, while America did not promise, that the Philippine Islands should have independence. When Mr. Schurz writes that the history of the world does not furnish "a single act of perfidy committed by any republic more infamous than that which has been committed by President McKinley's Administration against our Filipino allies," and invites Senator Foraker to "ransack all his knowledge of the annals of mankind for an act of treachery more base and infamous," the bad results of over-emphasis may be seen not merely in a certain resentment aroused (if at the moment one's sense of humor happens to be mislaid), but also in a tendency to attach even undue importance to General Otis's warning and to the circumstance that the assurances, offered by persons not authorized to give them, were received by persons not truly representative.

Have we any reason to believe that the Filipinos *could* establish a good government for themselves—that the kind of republic their *mestizo* leaders claim the right to institute would bring to them the blessings they desire? Does the history of such experiments in tropical and sub-tropical countries encourage us to believe it would be less than downright cruelty to leave them to their own devices? Frankly, I fear that such adjectives as "base" and "infamous" might, with a rather terrible appositeness, be employed to characterize the act of a nation, familiar as our own with the details of the story of republican experiments in Central and South America and the West Indies, knowing how idle it is, as a rule, to look for good government of the tropics by the natives of those regions, knowing also, as we do now, that the difficulties are greater in the Philippines than elsewhere, and the outlook still more hopeless,—if that nation, having used the power of its navy and army to overthrow the Spanish dominion there, should then shirk the obligation to set up a better government.

I think that the Filipinos' long struggle to win a privilege which they could not enjoy, and their American illusion, claim fairly and surely a response from true American sentiment—that will insist on being rid of both sentimentalism and prejudice—whether one look for the answer in Administration circles or in the opposition. To discover what is best for such wards of the nation, and to do it—this duty has all the fascination of difficulty. *Res severa est verum gaudium.*

MARRION WILCOX.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NOTES ON THE ART OF ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON.

BY G. W. T. OMOND.

ONE day, in December, 1870, three students of the University of Edinburgh were sitting in the Library of the Speculative Society. This is a long, narrow room, the sides of which are lined with bookcases. At one end there is a fireplace, and at the other a window, under which stands a glass case, containing the accounts kept by Sir Walter Scott when he was treasurer of the Society. In another room, that in which the debates take place, paintings of Scott and Francis Horner hang on one side, with Lord Brougham looking at them from above the mantelpiece on the other side. Everything is redolent of the eighteenth century, of the nights when Brougham, Horner, Lord Lansdowne, Jeffrey and a host of others, many of whom became famous men, declaimed on such topics as the National Character or the Growing Power of Russia. Some of the original furniture is still there, and the room is lighted by wax candles, as of old. It is a place in which a man, returning to it after many years, may linger in the dusk of a winter's afternoon, and call up memories of the past.

But these three students were full of the present and the future, and busy about an "University Magazine," which, some few weeks before, they had resolved to found. Lord Neaves—*Ultimus Romanorum*—had promised to write some verses; Professor Blackie, at an interview in his retiring-room, had exclaimed: "Tell me what you want. I am ready;" Dr. Joseph Bell, the model from whom Mr. Conan Doyle afterward drew Sherlock Holmes, was to furnish an article. And now Robert Louis Stevenson came to them; a slender figure of the middle height, in a peajacket; with something of a stoop, and inclined

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to be narrow about the chest; black hair, worn rather long; eyes dark, but very bright and penetrating, and always with a lurking smile; in one hand a meerschaum pipe, and in the other a bundle of papers, which he offered as a contribution to the new venture. They went to lunch (these were simple days, and there were few clubs in the land) at a house of entertainment which occupied, as it probably still does, the site of the ancient Kirk o' Field. There Stevenson was solemnly added to the staff of editors, and the occasion was celebrated with such rites as the place and the years of the company suggested.

Stevenson himself, in his "Memories and Portraits," speaks of this business of the Magazine as a "piece of good fortune," by which he was able to see his literature in print, and tells how all four managed the first number with much bustle; how he and his friend, Walter Ferrier, looked after the second, and how he alone was responsible for the third. "It has long," he says, "been a solemn question who edited the fourth." His contributions were: "Edinburgh Students in 1824," "The Philosophy of Umbrellas" (in which Ferrier helped him), "The Modern Student Considered Generally," "Debating Societies," "An Old Scotch Gardener," and "The Philosophy of Nomenclature."

In April, 1871, however, this poor Magazine died a natural death, and was soon forgotten like its predecessors, such as "The Nimmo, or Alma's Tawse," or "The Anti-Nemo," in which we read, among the election news of 1832, how "Gibson Craig lost his top-boots the other night, when soliciting a voter in the Cowgate;" how Lord Advocate Jeffrey is to be known "by a mean, mercenary, political-unionist kind of appearance," and Christopher North "by a northeast squint of his eye, and a profusion of dirty, uncombed, carroty locks," along with similar pleasantries which passed for humor sixty years ago. But any book-hunter who may chance on some stray copy of "The Edinburgh University Magazine," for 1871, ought to examine it; for it contains the first published writings of Stevenson. Should he wish to purchase it, he will find that, though it was originally sold for sixpence a number, and was largely used by its founders for lighting pipes, the market price has now risen to about ten guineas!

So, during that winter, the youth who from boyhood had been spinning sentences and playing at authorship, corrected his first proofsheets, and began the serious business of his life.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

After his death, in 1894, a discussion arose about his style and methods of composition. It was already known to many that his methods had been laborious. It is true that, just as some great horses have run their best only under extreme pressure of whip and spur, some great writers have been unable to work save under stress of time or necessity. Sheridan is said to have been so lazy that nothing could persuade him to finish the "School for Scandal" but locking him into a room at Drury Lane with a quire of paper and a bottle of port. "Guy Mannering" was begun and ended within the space of a few weeks. But, on the whole, cases such as these are the exception. "There is na workeman that can bothe worken wel and hastilie." Stevenson never forgot this. His method of writing fiction was as painstaking as, for instance, that of Mr. Fox or Lord Macaulay in writing history. Lord Holland found the manuscript from which he prepared Mr. Fox's History of James the Second for the press full of erasures, revisions and corrections, not so much of the facts as of the style; and to such an extent did Mr. Fox carry his striving after purity of language, that he once told Lord Holland he would admit no word into his book for which he had not the authority of Dryden. Lord Macaulay's method of composition was almost identical with that of Stevenson. "Macaulay," says Sir George Trevelyan, "never allowed a sentence to pass muster until it was as good as he could make it. He thought little of re-casting a chapter in order to obtain a more lucid arrangement, and nothing whatever of reconstructing a paragraph for the sake of one happy stroke or apt illustration." In like manner Stevenson could "labor terribly;" re-reading and re-casting; three weeks on one chapter; and sometimes the work of a whole day thrown into the waste-paper basket. Pains such as these have very often been bestowed on controversial works, every line of which was to be jealously criticized by some hostile eye. Pascal wrote one of the Provincial Letters thirteen times before it pleased him. Lord Brougham composed nine different perorations for his speech at the Queen's Trial. But surely, though many great novelists, especially some of the French novelists, have composed slowly and painfully, few have ever bestowed such labor on their works as Stevenson.

Much has been said about his "style," and how he acquired it. He has described himself as playing "the sedulous ape to Hazlitt,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to Lamb, to Wordsworth, to Sir Thomas Browne, to Defoe, to Hawthorne, to Montaigne, to Baudelaire, and Obermann;" and he perhaps fancied that he had "found a style" in this way. But was the fact not rather this, that by these studies he acquired that copious vocabulary of choicest English, in which, after a manner peculiarly his own, he clothed his thoughts and gave them to his readers in the smoothly flowing sentences, which are always dignified, but never either dull or florid. Compare the first attempts of 1871 with what he wrote in later years, and it will be seen that his style was natural to himself, nor "aped" from any one, except as the poetry of Dunbar was aped from Chaucer, or the music of Beethoven from Haydn or Mozart. And it was not only with the style, or language, of his novels that Stevenson took similar pains. "Treasure Island," "Dr. Jekyll and Mr Hyde" (a deep allegory disguised as a *jeu d'esprit*), and, indeed, most of his books, are works of pure imagination. But, when composing his historical novels, he not only revised every word, and polished every sentence, but read hard in order to acquire a thorough knowledge of the scenes and times in which his characters were to appear. Take "Kidnapped." Here he was dealing with a period which had always attracted him. In the "Gossip on Romance," he tells us how some of his boyish companions used to like one kind of story, and some another. "For my part," he says, "I liked a story to begin with an old wayside inn, where, 'towards the close of the year 17—,' several gentlemen in three-cocked hats were playing bowls." His head was so full of highwaymen, and rides by moonlight, that for a long time the words, "Great North Road," "'ostler," "nag," sounded like music in his ears. As he walked about, his imagination running riot in the past, every place suggested some appropriate story; and the Hawes Inn at Queensferry caught his fancy more than any other. "Americans seek it already for the sake of Lovel and Oldbuck, who dined there at the beginning of the 'Antiquary.' But you need not tell me that is all; there is some story, unrecorded or not yet complete, which must express the meaning of that inn more fully." And so David Balfour, in the middle of the eighteenth century, finds himself at Queensferry, on the beach before the Hawes Inn.

As a preparation for writing this novel, Stevenson drudged through a more arduous course of solid reading than, probably,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

many of his readers may suspect. The historical portion of the plot was found in Volume XIX. of the "State Trials," where the trial of James Stewart and Alan Breck Stewart, for the murder of Colin Campbell of Glenure, occupies between two and three hundren closely printed columns. Having studied every line of the evidence with minute care, he read all round the subject, borrowing from the Advocates' Library (for a length of time which called forth expostulations, fortunately for the world quite unheeded, from the keeper and other people), every book or pamphlet from which he could glean anything, to help him in producing a vivid picture of the state of Scotland during the years which followed the Forty-Five.

No detail, however trifling, either in the accounts of the trial or in the various works which he consulted, escaped his notice. His description of the ludicrous figure cut by the people, when the Highland dress was forbidden, is true to life. "Some went bare," he makes David Balfour say, "only for a hanging cloak or great-coat, and carried their trousers on their backs like a useless burthen; some had made an imitation of the tartan with little parti-colored stripes patched together like an old wife's quilt; others, again, still wore the Highland philabeg, but, by putting a few stitches between the legs, transformed it into a pair of trousers like a Dutchman's." This passage is taken, almost word for word, from one of the pamphlets which he borrowed from the Library. The "French clothes" worn by the Alan Breck of "Kidnapped," blue coat, red waistcoat, black breeches and feathered hat, are so described by the witnesses who gave testimony against the real Alan Breck. The silver buttons, on which Alan sets so much value in the novel, figure also in the evidence. His big great-coat and his fishing rod are there, too. The five guineas, which he receives at the Heugh of Corrynakiegh, were received at that very spot by the Alan of actual history; and the outlaw whistles in the evidence just as he whistles in the novel. When Glenure is shot, "'Oh, I am dead,' he cried, several times over" ("Kidnapped," p. 162). "Glenure several times repeated the words, 'Oh, I am dead'" ("State Trials," Vol. XIX., p. 93). David Balfour tells how, when he and Alan Breck were escaping by night, Alan stole up to the cottages they passed, tapped at the windows, and told the people of Glenure's death. This graphic touch is taken from the evidence of two witnesses, whom

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the real Alan roused from sleep to hear the news. One example may be given, to show how skillfully Stevenson seized upon any picturesque incident which could be turned to account, and in what shape he would give it to the world. A letter is to be sent from the Heugh of Corrynakiegh; but in that desert there is neither paper, pen nor ink.

"Kidnapped," p. 207.

"But he was a man of more resources than I knew; searched the wood until he found a quill of a cushat dove, which he shaped into a pen; made himself a kind of ink with gunpowder from his horn and water from the running stream; and tearing a corner from his French military commission (which he carried in his pocket, like a talisman to keep him from the gallows) he sat down and wrote as follows."

"State Trials," XIX., p. 144.

"Alan looked about among the trees, and finding a wood-pigeon's quill, made a pen of it, and having made ink of some powder he took out of a powder-horn that was in his pocket, he wrote a letter."

Every one who is acquainted with the story of Prince Charlie's wanderings will recognize the Cage on Ben Alder ("Kidnapped," p. 223). The walls of natural wood, strengthened with stakes and wattled; the earthen floor; the living tree which was the centre-beam of the roof; the smoke rising against the face of the rock; the cooking and the card-playing; the whole is to be found in Donald Macpherson's well-known description of Cluny's strange hiding-place.

The result of this painstaking method, with its frank and unaffected use of facts, is that the story becomes, of necessity, true to life, and, therefore, convincingly real. It narrates, without exaggeration or false coloring, what actually did take place in a state of society which actually did exist; and Stevenson had entered into the spirit of those times so thoroughly that neither David Balfour nor Alan Breck is represented as saying or doing anything which is not quite natural and possible. Hence it comes to pass that, with something akin to the art of Defoe, he never destroys the reader's interest by compelling him to remember that he is reading fiction. As a work of art, "Catriona," into which the element of invention enters more largely, may not be quite so perfect as "Kidnapped." It is, nevertheless, equally true to history. James More, the son of Bob Roy, was

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

just such a man as Stevenson describes—if possible even more cunning and treacherous—employed as a spy by the Government of Scotland in 1745, and, after the Appen murder, hired to trepan Alan Breck and bring him from France. The materials on which Stevenson founded his account of this piece of villainy will be found (the episode of the portmanteau included) in *Blackwood's Magazine* for December, 1817, and in the Introduction to "Rob Roy," where, by the bye, we catch our last glimpse of Alan, in 1789, a "raw-boned, grim-looking old man, with the *petit croix* of St. Louis," with gray eyes and a weather-beaten face, sitting quietly by the fireside, in the lodging of a Scottish Benedictine priest in Paris.

Then, his characters speak as they would have spoken in real life. In a work of fiction, the language put into the mouths of the characters ought, if possible, to be the language of the time described. To make the hero of a Scottish story of the Covenanting days, for example, express himself in language which, however quaint it may be, has no resemblance to that spoken or written by the men who fought at Drumclog, or hid from Claverhouse among the moss-hags, is to destroy the verisimilitude of the work; for it is soon and easily perceived that what professes to be the mode of expression of a former generation is, in reality, just a mannerism into which the author has written himself. The delicate taste of Stevenson saved him from this common mistake; and, therefore, there are few, if any, anachronisms of phraseology in "Kidnapped" or "Catriona." David Balfour writes and speaks exactly as a fairly well-educated man of his class would have written and spoken at that time; and hence it is that we perceive, blending with the words and idioms of the Scottish dialect, an exquisite, subtle aroma, which is wafted from the eighteenth century, from the serene grace of Addison and the playful irony of Goldsmith.

Stevenson, again, is never prolix. In a single sentence he can paint a landscape which extends for miles, or describe some important incident. We are at Hermiston. "All beyond and about is the great field of the hills; the plover, the curlew and the lark cry there; the wind blows as it blows in a ship's rigging, hard and cold and pure; and the hilltops huddle one behind another, like a herd of cattle, into the sunset." Toward the end of "Catriona," it is necessary to allude to the execution of Alan's brother; but

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with what art it is done. The wood of Lettermore, where Glenure was shot, has already been described in "Kidnapped"—the craggy mountain-side, the overhanging birches, the bridle-path along the margin of the water. And so, in "Catriona," he merely pauses, for a moment, to tell us how "in course of time, on November 8th, and in the midst of a prodigious storm of wind and rain, poor James of the Glens was duly hanged at Lettermore by Ballachulish." Thus in a few words, just the right number and no more, a picture is drawn, and the whole scene of the tragedy is before us. Pascal apologized for the length of one of his Letters by saying that he had no time to make it shorter. Stevenson found time to compress into four lines of print what might have furnished some less artistic writer with, perhaps, four pages of description; and there are numberless other occasions, throughout his works, on which he might have introduced a purple patch, but when he preferred to search for that one sentence which should, in a few luminous touches, tell us all that is necessary, but nothing more, about some incident which must be mentioned in order to the full development of the story. In short, as a painter in words, his mastery over the principles of perspective is complete.

The Editorial Note which is appended to "Weir of Hermiston" enables us to trace Stevenson's method in the production of his last novel. There is no Scottish judge, except perhaps Lord Monboddo, about whom so many stories have been told us as about Lord-Justice-Clerk Macqueen of Braxfield. His formidable appearance is described, and some of his heartless sayings on the bench are recorded, by Lord Cockburn; and if letters of his, which still lie among the papers of some families in Scotland, were published, it would be found that the popular idea of his character has all along been correct. It occurred to Stevenson that this man, a great lawyer, but of a singularly hard spirit, might be made the central figure of a romance, of which the chief features were to be the misunderstandings which often occur between father and son, and "the problems and emotions arising from a conflict between duty and nature in a judge." These are words in which we have the spectacle of a father condemning his own son to death; and it appears that Stevenson's first intention was that Lord Hermiston should send Archie to the gallows. But he soon came to see how crude this idea was, and that some

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

means must be found by which the story should not only exhibit the judge's stern, unbending sense of duty, but at the same time be kept within the bounds of possibility. He could easily have written a melodramatic "trial scene," with the father on the bench and the son in the dock; but no art could have made it true to nature, for it could never have taken place in real life. Therefore, he turned from such a violation of possibilities; and it is clear, from letters quoted in the Editorial Note, that, in the words of Mr. Sidney Colvin, "he intended other persons, before Archie, to have fallen first under suspicion of the murder." At the trial of these persons something was to come out, which led to the arrest of Archie.

The way in which Stevenson tackled some legal questions which arose is very characteristic. "I wish," he wrote to Mr. Charles Baxter, "Pitcairn's 'Criminal Trials,' *quam primum*. Also, an absolutely correct copy of the Scots judiciary oath. Also, in case Pitcairn does not come down late enough, I wish as full a report as possible of a Scots murder trial between 1790 and 1820. Understand, the *fullest possible*." And then, in the frankest way imaginable, he asks for information on a point of Scottish criminal procedure of so elementary a nature that the youngest lawyer in Edinburgh could have answered it offhand. ("Weir of Hermiston," p. 271.) But Stevenson, who had laid aside his wig and gown long before, was far too conscientious and thoroughgoing to rely on his recollections of what he must have known in his Parliament House days, and he would not run the slightest risk that, even on a technical point of legal practice, his novel might not be quite correct. One of his friends in the Speculative Society had been Mr. Graham Murray, now Lord Advocate, who told him how the land lay. "Graham Murray's note *re* the venue was highly satisfactory, and did me all the good in the world," he writes.

But this point in the story was never reached; and we are left to picture for ourselves how adroitly the situation would have been worked out. We can imagine the scene; a crowded court-room on the Western Circuit; the judge, who had been pressing every point against the accused, suddenly noticing some flaw in the evidence, taking the examination into his own hands, and following it up till he came to a point at which he perceived (before any one else?) that it would incriminate his own son,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and yet never flinching, but asking question after question till the truth came out. Then would have followed the whispered consultation among the Crown Counsel, the discharge of the accused, the rising of the Court, and Lord Hermiston going home, with the knowledge that Archie was to be arrested and tried for his life. Here were all the elements of a great tragedy; and a great tragedy indeed it would have been in Stevenson's hands.

"I expect," he wrote to Mr. Baxter, "'The Justice Clerk' to be my masterpiece." But the Fates had decided otherwise. It was his custom to have more than one book on the stocks; and "Weir of Hermiston" was interrupted by "The Ebb Tide" and "St. Ives," so that month after month passed without much progress being made. "Then, in the last weeks of his life, he attacked the task again, in a sudden heat of inspiration, and worked at it ardently, and without interruption, until the end came." Thus "Weir of Hermiston" remains an unfinished fragment. But what a noble fragment! It is Stevenson at his very best, as if the fire of his genius had blazed up, more brightly than ever, for a moment before it was finally quenched. His mode of composition, the conscious art with which he wrote, the scrupulous choosing and rejecting of words, the polishing of phrases, might, by the time "Hermiston" came to be written, have debased his style to baldness, or mere artificiality, if he had not been so really great a Man of Letters as he was. Instead of this, his style here is mellower, deeper, richer than in any of his other works. There is in this last book of his a breadth and force, an indescribable something, like an inspiration, which had raised him, at last, very nearly to the level of Scott.

The art of Stevenson has been compared to the art of Scott. But their methods were essentially different. Scott poured forth treasures of knowledge, invention, humor, pathos, anecdote from an exhaustless store, poured them forth artlessly, almost at random. Stevenson, who, brilliant though he was, had neither the accumulated resources of Scott, nor so luxuriant a fancy, collected his materials with immense pains, sifted them laboriously, and when he came to use them never rested till he had everything in its proper place, and displayed to the best possible advantage. His jewels are none of them rough diamonds. Every gem is cut, polished to the highest point, and set in gold of rare and cunning workmanship. But, conscious though he was, in every fibre,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of his own art, he was far too shrewd not to acknowledge that it was beyond his power to reach the lofty eminence occupied by Scott, and that he could never have created the Baron of Bradwardine, or the Antiquary, or Jeanie Deans, nor woven together such a masterpiece as the plot of "Guy Mannering." He spoke of Scott as "out and away the King of the romantics," who shared with Balzac and Thackeray in "Vanity Fair" "the real creator's brush." At the same time, he would scarcely allow that Scott was an artist. He calls "The Pirate" an "ill-written, ragged book." He speaks of Scott as jobbing off languid, inarticulate twaddle upon his readers, and writing bad English and bad narrative. "He was a great day-dreamer, a seer of fit and beautiful and humorous visions, but hardly a great artist; hardly, in the manful sense, an artist at all. He pleased himself, and so he pleases us. Of the pleasures of his art he tasted fully; but of its toils and vigils and distresses never man knew less. A great romantic—an idle child." These words are virtually a confession, and they reveal the secret of that conscious elaboration which produced the marvellous beauty of form which distinguishes, without exception, all the writings of Stevenson. There can be little doubt that what he wrote will stand the test of time, and that hereafter he will hold a place in the goodly fellowship of the immortals, with Balzac, and Defoe, and Cervantes, and the rest; but no man knew better than Stevenson that, far above them all, Scott moves by himself along the higher ridges of the mountain-tops, unapproachable.

G. W. T. OMOND.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CONFUCIANISM IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

BY HERBERT ALLEN GILES, LL. D., PROFESSOR OF CHINESE IN CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY.

BETWEEN 1662 and 1796, two of China's greatest Emperors occupied the throne, with a short intervening reign, each of them for over sixty years. These 120 years may be said to have been chiefly devoted to the extension of learning and the glorification of Confucianism. A prodigious amount of literature was produced under the direct patronage of these two monarchs. Besides dictionaries and encyclopædias of various kinds, a vast collection of commentaries upon the Confucian Canon was published in 1675, filling no less than 120 large volumes. Everything, in fact, was done which, in the words of the Sacred Edict (1670), would tend to "get rid of heterodoxy and exalt the orthodox doctrine." Yet, during a considerable part of this period of Confucian revival, Roman Catholic missionaries were not only tolerated, but even honored. Such treatment, according to the Paraphrase of the Sacred Edict, was not for any value attached to the religion they taught, which was stigmatised as unsound, but solely because they understood astronomy and mathematics, and were usefully employed in reforming the Chinese calendar.

In 1795, the great Emperor Chien Lung, who had received Lord Macartney, abdicated, and three years later he died. He was succeeded by his fifteenth son, known to us as the Emperor Chia Ching, from whose accession may be dated the turning of the tide. The new ruler proved to be dissolute and worthless. In 1803, he was attacked while riding in a sedan-chair through the streets of Peking, and had a narrow escape. This was found to be the result of a family plot, and many of the Imperial clansmen suffered for their real or alleged share in it. Ten years later, a band of assassins, belonging to a well-known secret society, very

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nearly succeeded in murdering him in his own palace. The effect of these attempts was to develop the worst sides of his character; he became a mere sensualist, and even gave up the annual hunting expedition, which had always been associated with Manchu energy. Such a man was not likely to do much for the advancement of the great teaching which was founded upon such obligations as filial piety and duty toward one's neighbor. Some few valuable works, aiding to elucidate the Confucian Canon, were published during his reign, but there was no more the same Imperial stimulus manifesting itself under a variety of forms, such as welcome encouragement, pecuniary assistance, and, last but not least, the supply to deserving books of prefaces written with the Vermilion Pencil.

Confucianism was not for the moment exposed to any attacks. Roman Catholicism had been scotched by the formal expulsion of its missionaries under the Edicts of 1718 and 1724, and Protestants had, so far, not entered upon the field. It was only in 1807 that the Rev. Dr. Morrison, of dictionary fame, went out to Canton; and within a year he retired for safety and the convenience of his work to Macao.

In 1820, the Emperor known to us as Tao Kuang, second son of Chia Ching, succeeded to the throne. His courage had saved his father's life on the occasion of the attack on the palace in 1813, and he had been at once named Heir Apparent. He made a good beginning, and attempted to purify the Court; but war with England, and rebellion in various parts of the Empire, darkened his reign, and little progress was made. Gradually he learned to hate foreigners, and opposed their claims; and, borrowing a saying some centuries old, he declared that he was not going to allow another man "to snore alongside of his bed."

There was, at any rate, one great Confucianist who flourished during this period, and strove, both by his own works and by the patronage he extended to others, to keep alive the Confucian spirit. Under the friendly auspices of Yuan-Yuan (1764-1849) was produced, in a uniform edition, a collection of more than 180 separate treatises on the Canon by scholars of the present dynasty. This work fills 102 large volumes, and was intended to be a continuation of the similar collection published in 1675. Of course, every one who is a follower of Confucius may be called a Confucianist, but a man is specially so distinguished by the Chinese if he has

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

contributed to the enormous mass of literature which helps in any way to explain, or sets forth in glowing color and attractive form, the holy teachings of the Master.

The active opposition of Commissioner Lin (1785-1850) to the opium trade, which precipitated the war, was a direct outcome of his careful training in the Confucian school. The question of morality and the appeal to justice which he introduced into his famous letter to the Queen, asking her to put a stop to the opium trade, were both based upon the ethics of Confucius. He not only professed his firm adherence to Confucianism, but exhibited in his every-day life a lofty conception of its ideals. He is the one representative of China, during this reign, to whom all foreigners would ungrudgingly accord the title of an honest man and a true patriot.

Tao Kuang was succeeded in 1851 by his fourth son, known to us as the Emperor Hsien Fêng. The reign of the latter is particularly associated with the Tai-ping rebellion, which shook the Empire to its foundations, and, but for the presence of General Gordon, would probably have succeeded in putting an end to the Manchu-Tartar dynasty. In one of its aspects, it was a crusade against Confucianism, organized by a small band of men who had adopted a morbid and spurious Christianity. The large following which these leaders gathered around their banner knew nothing whatever of genuine Christianity, and very little of the doctrines offered them by the *soi-disant* Brother of Christ, afterwards known as the Heavenly King. As matters turned out, the shock to Confucianism was a mere nothing; for, although the Heavenly King succeeded in capturing some six hundred cities in sixteen out of the eighteen provinces, so soon as the rebellion was crushed (1864), Confucianism at once and completely regained the ground it can hardly be said to have lost. It suffered most, perhaps, through the destruction of many printing establishments containing the blocks of now priceless editions of valuable works on the Classics. On the other hand, it can be shown that Confucianism is sometimes extremely sensitive. It had been enacted that the Sacred Edict, mentioned above, should be publicly read to the people on the 1st and 15th of each month, at every important centre all over the Empire. This practice had been allowed to fall very much into desuetude at Canton. But about the year 1850, a number of educated Chinese, taking alarm at the open

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

activity of Protestant missionaries, actually formed themselves into a society for reading and studying the Sacred Edict among themselves.

No one, of course, could maintain that the mere study of Confucian doctrines would suffice to turn out men of high character, unless the seed were sown in minds, as Confucius said, "fit for the reception of truth." As a counterpoise to Commissioner Lin, we may cite the case of Governor Yeh, whose action in the "Arrow" affair led to the bombardment and capture of Canton in 1857. When sent a prisoner to Calcutta, Yeh was asked why he never read to pass the time. "All the books which are worth reading," he replied, "I already know by heart." He was alluding to the Confucian Canon, his intimate acquaintance with which had placed him high on the list of candidates for the coveted third degree. Yet this man was, as an official, little more than a bloodthirsty tyrant. He is said to have put to death, first and last, no fewer than seventy thousand Tai-ping rebels. He had also become so unwieldy from self-indulgence that, although disguised for flight, he was unable to make the necessary effort to evade his pursuers.

In 1861, the Emperor, who smoked opium to excess, died at Jehol, whither he had fled to escape from the English and French forces, then at the gates of Peking, and his son, Tung Chih, reigned in his stead. Coming to the throne as a mere child, the latter remained during his thirteen years of rule entirely under the guidance of the Empress Dowager, so that almost the first that was heard of him as an Emperor was that he had fallen a victim to smallpox. He could not have learnt much good about foreigners from his Confucian tutors, one of whom openly expressed his daily and nightly longing "to sleep on their skins." Meanwhile, with the ratification of the Treaty of Tientsin, a shadow fell across the path of Confucianism. Since the days of the Opium War and the partial opening of China, the missionary question had gradually entered upon the acute stage in which it may be said to have remained ever since, and it had become needful to insert in the new Treaty a clause protecting, not only the Christian religion and its exponents, but its converts. This was, and always has been, resented by Confucianists as withdrawing the converts from their allegiance; but it is difficult to say what other arrangement could have been made. Neither can it be fairly

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

alleged that Protestant missionaries have ever abused their opportunities.

With the close of the Tai-ping rebellion, with a settled government, and with more prosperous times generally, the production of books showed marked signs of increase. Clearly printed editions of the Classics and kindred works were issued from Wu-chang, the capital of Hupeh; on execrable paper, it is true, but at a price which placed them easily within reach of the masses.

In 1872, Tsêng Kuo-fan died, at the comparatively early age of sixty-one. He had worn himself out in the service of the State, first as a successful military commander and afterwards as a successful administrator. He was further a successful Confucianist, in the sense that his pure and incorrupt life was a happy exemplification of what Confucianism may lead to, if only its seed is dropped upon propitious soil. Though saturated with the principles and teachings of Confucianism, and undoubtedly hostile to foreigners, yet his memory is hardly more honored among his own countrymen than by those whom he felt it his duty to oppose. After the Tientsin Massacre of 1870, he advocated a policy of peace with foreign nations, thereby incurring the odium of the more fanatical of the *literati*. At his death it was reported to the Throne that, "when his wardrobe was examined to find some suitable garments for the last rites, nothing new could be discovered. Every article of dress had been worn many times; and this may be taken as an example of his rigid economy for himself and in all the expenditure of his family."

In 1875, another child-Emperor, known to us as Kuang Hsu, was placed upon the throne by the Empress Dowager. This unfortunate youth has been severely battered by the shocks of doom. The story of the Reform movement, and of his virtual deposition in September, 1898, is fresh in the minds of all. Since then we have heard rumors of abdication, and again of restoration. Had he remained in power, Confucianism would have been forced to reconsider its attitude to foreign standards of thought and education. But upon his suspension it was determined that the old examination system, which had prevailed almost unaltered for nearly six centuries, with its roots extending back to the Christian era, should be restored in its integrity. The introduction of "new, depraved, and erroneous subjects," by which we must un-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

derstand modern scientific teaching, was to be strictly prohibited under various pains and penalties. Thus, the occupation of the newly-inaugurated Peking University was gone. For the time being, Confucianism is triumphant; and if the tablets of women are ever admitted to the Confucian Temple, that of the Empress Dowager should be the first. Actuated, probably, by selfish motives, her anti-reform zeal has been invaluable to those who would maintain the paramountcy of Confucian education, with all its immediate influences upon the governing classes of the country.

A glance at a few questions actually set some few years ago at these public examinations will afford a good idea of the educational level to which Confucianism has raised the Chinese. The following were subjects for essays:

"(1.) To hold a middle course, without deviation, is as bad as holding an extreme.

"(2.) Of suspended bodies, none can exceed in brightness the sun and the moon.

"(3.) In the time of the Hsia dynasty (B. C. 2205—1766), the Imperial drum was placed on feet; during the Shang dynasty (B. C. 1766—1122), it was supported on pillars; under the Chou dynasty (B. C. 1122—255), it was hung by a cord."

For a poem, the following theme was presented:

"The azure precipice was half concealed in a mass of rolling clouds."

In addition to essays and poems, several general papers of questions are set to the candidates. These comprise classical exegesis, history of ancient and mediæval China, ancient geography, etc., and are almost identical, *mutatis mutandis,* with papers on the languages and literatures of Greece and Rome, such as are set, for instance, at the annual examination of candidates for the Indian Civil Service. Here is a specimen of a classical question:

"Mao Chang in his edition of the Odes interprets 'The Guests at the Feast' to mean that Duke Wu was upbraiding Prince Yu. Han Ying in his edition says that Duke Wu is here repenting of his fault of drunkenness. Which editor is to be followed?"

Here is a question on the competitive system:

"During the Tang dynasty (A. D. 618—907), personal appearance, fluency of speech, handwriting, learning, and decision, were all taken into account at the examinations. How were the various merits of the candidates tested?"

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It is the fashion to deride the Chinese curriculum, and to cry out for the introduction of "science," which would, no doubt, be very advantageous in many ways. At the same time, it must be confessed that the Chinese Classics have had precisely the effect attributed by Professor Jebb, in his lecture on "Humanism in Education," to the Classics of Greece and Rome. Discarding the past tense for the present, his actual words apply with surprising force to the China of to-day:

> "At the close of this century, the classics still hold a virtual monopoly, so far as literary studies are concerned, in the public schools and universities. And they have no cause to be ashamed of their record. The culture which they supply, while limited in the sphere of its operation, has long been an efficient and vital influence, not only in forming men of letters and learning, but in training men who afterwards gain distinction in public life and in various active careers."

Several noble specimens of Confucianists have disappeared during the present reign. Shên Pao-chêng (1819-1879), who first distinguished himself against the Tai-ping rebels, was a stern Confucianist and, withal, a capable man of business. In 1867, he became Director of the Foochow Arsenal, which he started with the aid of M. Prosper Giquel, in the face of much opposition, launching his first gunboat in 1869. Successful as an administrator, he gained a lasting name for probity, courage and frugality, leaving behind him in material wealth literally no more than he brought with him into the world.

Another official of the same class was Ting Jih-chang (1823-1882). He was connected with the arsenals at Soochow and Foochow. He was a Commissioner for the settlement of cases arising out of the Tientsin Massacre. He became Governor of Fuhkien, and in 1878 was sent to Foochow to arrange a very serious missionary difficulty in connection with some building operations. A Confucianist to the backbone, he earned the full respect of all foreigners; and, when he withdrew into private life, he carried with him a spotless reputation.

With such a father as Tsêng Kuo-fan, whose dying injunctions to his children compare favorably with Lord Chesterfield's advice to his son, it is hardly a matter for wonder that the Marquis Tsêng (1837-1890), once Ambassador to the Court of St. James's, should have continued the best traditions of Confucianism. He promoted to his utmost the establishment of peaceful relations

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

between China and foreign nations, and his death was a severe loss to Great Britain in particular.

Probity, like its opposite, seems to run in families. In the same year with the Marquis Tsêng died his uncle, Tsêng Kuo-chuan, younger brother of Tsêng Kuo-fan. He had risen to be Viceroy of the Two Kiang, and had consequently held the lives and fortunes of myriads of his countrymen in the palm of his hand. It is only necessary to add that at his death the people of Nanking went into public mourning, from which it may be inferred that, given the right material, Confucianism need be no hindrance to an upright and unblemished career.

One eminent Confucianist is still working for his cause, in a manner which compels the admiration of his opponents. Chang Chih-tung, Viceroy of the Two Hu, devotes much of the time which he can snatch from a busy life to the encouragement of Confucian learning. He has founded a College and a Library for the benefit of poor students. He is a poor man himself, in spite of the high posts he has filled. He is master of a trenchant style and has written against the opium habit and against the practice of cramping women's feet. He is hostile to foreigners and to Christianity, from the very natural desire to see his own countrymen and Confucianism paramount Yet he is known to the general public as the one incorruptible Viceroy.

Manners and customs, convenient or inconvenient, if founded, as many of them are, upon the authority of the Confucian Canon, remain fixed in the national life even more deeply than is found to be the case among Western peoples. The practice of employing a go-between in marriage, the illegality of marriages between persons of the same surname, the unwritten regulation that the axle-trees of all carts in the same district shall be of uniform length,—these and many similar customs, fully in force at the present day, are based upon well-known passages to be found in different parts of the Canon. Especially has the patriarchal system taken deep root, so deep, in fact, that, short of an entire upheaval, it is not easy to see how it can ever be eliminated from the social life of China, over which its domination is complete. Since the days of Confucius, with filial piety as its foundation-stone, patriarchalism has prevailed over the Empire, the unit of civilization being not the individual but the family. The father, and after his death the mother, has absolute power over all the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

children, until the sons enter upon an official career, when they can be reached only with the consent of the Emperor, until the daughters pass by marriage under the *patria potestas* of another family. At eighteen or nineteen the sons marry, and bring their wives under the paternal roof. The eldest brother succeeds to the headship and responsibilities of the family, and the subordination of his younger brothers to him is only less marked than that of his children.

Altogether, the patriarchal system has many advantages. It knits close the family ties. All earnings or income go to a common fund; and individuals, in days of failure and distress, are not left to their own resources. Labor is thereby provided with a defense against Capital, and a steady equilibrium is maintained. It is, no doubt, a check to individual enterprise, and a direct encouragement to clannishness and its evils. On the other hand, it is equally an encouragement to morality and thrift. One thing is quite certain; either it is admirably adapted to the temper of the Chinese people, or a long communion has adapted them to it.

The Confucian Temple, mentioned above, deserves particular notice, playing as it does an important part in what may be called, for the want of a better term, the State religion of China. Almost since the death of Confucius himself, certainly since the second century, B. C., there appears to have been some sort of shrine commemorative of his name and teachings. At the present moment, there must be what is called a Confucian Temple, distinguishable by its red walls, in all cities above a certain rank throughout the Empire. In those temples are ranged, in a particular order, a large number of tablets inscribed with the names of Confucius and of his disciples, of Mencius, and of various great men whose personal efforts have in past times contributed to keep alight the torch of Confucianism. Many tablets have, doubtless, slipped in which ought not to be there, and some names with indisputable claims have been excluded; but, altogether, the collection is fairly representative of the class intended, and may be regarded as the literary Valhalla of China. Twice a year, in spring and in autumn, offerings of food and wine are set out before these tablets. Early in the morning, the local officials, in full dress, assemble at the temples; musicians play, the officials burn incense and prostrate themselves before the tablet of Confucius, and a troupe of trained performers go through certain set

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

movements, after the style of the tragedy dances of ancient Greece. The whole ceremony is commemorative, not intercessory or propitiatory in any sense, no form of prayer being used. Yet it has been scouted by many missionaries as worship, in the same way as the ceremonies commemorative of ancestors have been scouted, with more justification, as ancestral worship.

Every Chinese family possesses a shrine, be it only a shelf, where stand the wooden tablets of ancestors. Before these, incense is burnt daily, with ceremonial prostrations. Twice a month, bowls of food are offered in addition. Once every year, at a certain date in spring, all respectable Chinamen make an effort to visit their ancestral burying-grounds. The spirit-path leading to the grave is swept; the tomb itself is carefully dusted; food and wine are offered up; and pieces of paper supposed to represent money are burnt in large quantities. The food and wine are intended, in the opinion of the masses, for the spirits to eat and drink; and the fact that neither one nor the other is ever, to all appearances touched, is explained by saying that the spirits consume only the flavor, leaving the grosser parts as they were. The money is supposed to pass through the agency of fire into the possession of the spirits for whom it is intended, and to be of actual use to them in their spiritual condition; but, to show that such superstitions have simply overlaid the earlier and purer element in the custom, it may be mentioned that coined money was not known until nearly three centuries after the death of Confucius. The same test may be applied equally with regard to geomancy, without the aid of which no site for a grave is ever finally chosen.

What Confucius thought about even a simple commemorative ceremonial is difficult to gather from his shadowy utterances, such subjects being uncongenial to him. It is recorded of him that "he made his oblations as though the dead were present," which need not be pressed to mean more than that his observance of the ceremonial was earnest rather than perfunctory. The general public, however, are inclined to interpret the words literally, and it is now customary to add a short prayer asking for the blessing of the departed upon all family undertakings. From the general spirit, however, of the teachings of Confucius, it seems clear that he would not have sanctioned superstitious rites. Offerings of food and wine, as may be seen from the Odes, were presented to

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

departed spirits long before his time; and, at the utmost, he would be merely approving an already established system. The offerings themselves were probably regarded by him much as we regard offerings of wreaths and flowers at the tombs of departed relatives or heroes, scarcely as an appeal to the physical senses of the dead.

The learned Jesuits of the seventeenth century, headed by Ricci, declared the ancestral worship of the Chinese to be nothing more than a civil rite, and in no way incompatible with the profession of the Christian faith; and had this declaration been allowed to stand, the probability is that the Catholic religion would now be the religion of China. The Jesuits were opposed, however, by the ignorant Dominicans; and the question being referred to the Pope, it was decided in favor of the latter. A great opportunity was thus missed. Some Protestant missionaries have been inclined to extend a degree of toleration to ancestral worship. Others have gone so far as to make it a rule to refuse baptism to responsible adults, unless the ancestral tablets have been previously handed over. The importance of this cult at the present day may be gauged by an Imperial Edict, issued only on the 15th of February, in which Li Hung Chang is instructed to desecrate and destroy the ancestral tombs of the fugitive Reformer, Kang Yu-wei.

Many learned Chinese have labored to show that the Three Teachings, meaning Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism, are in reality at one. Confucianism is now completely tolerant of the other two. Without public temples, and without a priesthood, it exists by virtue of its influence alone, while the teachings of the Buddhist and Taoist are amply supported by all the instrumental details which so much commend a religion to the masses. An important compromise has been effected, to which this happy tolerance is due. On every Buddhist and Taoist altar there stands, practically out of sight, hidden among candlesticks, vases of flowers and incense-burners, a small tablet, recording more by its presence than by its inscription, which is about the equivalent of "God save the Queen," as something independent of all religious bias, political allegiance to His Majesty the Emperor. Confucianism asks for no more; it will not even permit any effigy or likeness of Confucius to be set up in any such place of worship. The exhibition of this tablet offers a fair comparison with the exhibition of the Royal Arms, once so frequently seen on the tower arches of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

churches, but not now regarded as a necessary item in church decoration. Christian missionaries have not seen their way to the same compromise. They have usually shown themselves unduly sanguine as to some imaginary canker eating out the heart of Confucianism. In 1861, Dr. Legge wrote of Confucius as follows: "His influence has been wonderful, but it will henceforth wane. My opinion is, that the faith of the nation in him will speedily and extensively pass away." Forty years have passed since these words were penned, yet the hold of his wonderful influence seems to-day as strong as ever. And this in spite of the fact that, as has been shown above, little or nothing has been done by the Emperors of the nineteenth century to stimulate zeal in the cause.

Those missionaries have done well who have recognized the depth and strength of this influence. At the missionary conference in 1877, Dr. Edkins used these words:

> "Confucianism is the citadel of the enemy, raising its battlements high into the clouds and manned by multitudes who are animated by a belief in their superiority and their invincible strength. The taking of this fortress is the conclusion of the war."

The late Dr. Carstairs Douglas, a high authority, also said that:

> "he thought Confucianism a far greater enemy to Christianity than Buddhism, or Taoism, just as Mohammedanism in India and Africa is a greater enemy than Heathenism; in each case for the same reason, because of the large amount of truth it contained. Missionaries ought to study Confucianism carefully, and thankfully use all that is good in it, pointing out its great deficiencies and wisely correcting its errors."

The late Dr. Faber reduced the chief of these errors to twenty-four in number, exception to some of which might possibly be taken by differently constituted minds, *e. g.*: "the assertion that certain musical melodies influence the morals of the people is absurd."

In 1877, Dr. Legge stated that the impression left on him by Confucianism was as follows:

> "With very much that is good in it, it still is rather humdrum, and inadequate to the requirements of our humanity, a bed shorter than that upon which a man can stretch himself, and a covering narrower than that in which he can wrap himself."

The Rev. A. Smith, author of "Chinese Characteristics," says:

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"It is acknowledged that there is in Confucianism much that is excellent concerning the relations of man, and many points in which the doctrines of Christian revelation are almost echoed."

If such be the case, it would seem that the sooner missionaries devote themselves to a close study of Confucian doctrines, the better. This view prevails now much more widely than a few years ago.

It is difficult, however, to see what real fusion can be brought about of Christianity with Confucianism. We are confronted, on the threshold of the latter, by the dogma that man is born good, and that his lapse into evil is wholly due to his environment. Here Christianity would find a compromise impossible. It has scarcely the accommodating breadth of Buddhism, which established itself in Japan in the sixth century, A. D., not by denouncing the false gods of the Japanese, but by promptly canonizing all the Shinto ancestor-gods as Bôdhisatvas, second only to Buddha himself. But it might be possible to take a hint from Pope Gregory, who in 601, A. D., addressed a letter to the Abbot Mellitus, then starting for England, pointing out that the temples of the English ought not to be destroyed, but rather "converted from the worship of devils to the service of the true God, that the nation * * * may the more familiarly resort to the places to which they have been accustomed." The old sacrifices were also to be retained in form, "to the end that, whilst some gratifications are outwardly permitted them, they may the more easily consent to the inward consolations of the grace of God."

Dr. Legge wrote, in 1877:

"Christianity cannot be tacked on to any heathen religion as its complement, nor can it absorb any into itself without great changes in it and additions to it. Missionaries have not merely to reform, though it will be well for them to reform where and what they can; they have to revolutionize; and, as no revolution of a political kind can be effected without disturbance of existing conditions, so neither can a revolution of a people's religion be brought about without heat and excitement. Confucianism is not antagonistic to Christianity, as Buddhism and Brahmanism are. It is not atheistic like the former, nor pantheistic like the latter. It is, however, a system whose issues are bounded by earth and by time; and, though missionaries try to acknowledge what is good in it, and to use it as not abusing it, they cannot avoid sometimes seeming to pull down Confucius from his elevation. They cannot set forth the gospel as the wisdom of God and the power of God unto salvation, and exhort to the supreme love of God and of Christ, without deploring the want of any deep sense of sin, and of any glow of piety in the followers of the Chinese

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sage. Let them seek to go about their work everywhere—and I believe they can do so more easily in China than in other mission fields—in the spirit of Christ, without striving or crying, with meekness and lowliness of heart. Let no one think any labor too great to make himself familiar with the Confucian books. So shall missionaries in China come fully to understand the work they have to do; and the more they avoid driving their carriages rudely over the Master's grave, the more likely are they soon to see Jesus enthroned in his room in the hearts of the people."

The Rev. A. Smith would carry the crusade to extremes. Summing up his fascinating, though one-sided, volume above quoted, he says:

"The manifold needs of China we find then to be a single imperative need. It will be met permanently, completely, only by Christian civilization."

Forty years ago, the "manifold needs" of Japan were pretty much what those of China are at the present day. All those needs, save one, have been supplied; and Japan now takes an important rank among the nations of the world. She has little or no religion, and does not seem to wish to have any more. Her ethical code, upon which the morals of her people are based, is a legacy from the days when every educated Japanese was a Confucianist. It is a practical workaday code, setting forth a not unattainable ideal. It teaches virtue for virtue's own sake, and can no more be held responsible for the evils which flourish in China than Christianity can be held responsible for the evils which flourish in England. Yet this is overlooked to a wide extent. Dr. Legge traced the lying habits of the Chinese directly to the example of Confucius himself, on the strength of three passages, one of which occurs in an admittedly spurious work. In the first, Confucius applauds the modesty of an officer, who, after boldly bringing up the rear on the occasion of a retreat, refused all praise for his gallant behavior, attributing his position rather to the slowness of his horse. In the second, an unwelcome visitor calling on Confucius, the Master sent out to say he was sick, at the same time seizing his harpsichord and singing to it, "in order that Pei might hear him." Dr. Legge lays no stress on the last half of this story, though it is impossible to believe that its meaning can have escaped his notice altogether. Lastly, when Confucius was once taken prisoner by the rebels, he was released on condition of not proceeding to Wei. "Thither, notwithstanding, he continued his route," and when

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

asked by a disciple whether it was right to violate his oath, he replied: "It was a forced oath. The spirits do not hear such."

It seems almost to be now recognized that the time has come for giving up frontal attacks upon Confucianism. Apart from ancestral worship and the dogma that man is born in righteousness, there is really very little to attack, and the onset would be better diverted in the direction of Buddhism and Taoism. The cardinal virtues which are most admired by Christians are fully inculcated in the Confucian Canon, and the general practice of these is certainly up to the average standard exhibited by foreign nations. When the first Chinese Ambassador to England, Kuo Sung-tao, was leaving England for home, he said plainly that while in material civilization we were far ahead of China, our national morality was nothing less than shocking. It must, indeed, seem strange to a Confucianist that, with all our boasted influences of Christianity, it should still be necessary, for instance, to organize a Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, the ill-treatment of children being quite unknown in China. Female infanticide has, indeed, been charged upon Confucianism, but the glaring absurdity of such a charge can be made manifest in a few words. It is possible actually to prove a negative, and show that extensive infanticide cannot be practised in China. Every Chinaman throughout the Empire, with the very rarest exceptions, marries young. If his wife dies, he marries again; it is not thought proper for widows to remarry, though some do so. Many well-to-do Chinamen take concubines; some two, three, and even four. Therefore, unless there is an enormous disparity in the numbers of boys and girls born, infanticide must be reduced to very narrow limits. Yet, as late as May, 1897, Mrs. Isabella Bishop said, at a meeting of the Zenana Missionary Society, that "of eleven Bible-women whom she had seen at a meeting in China, there was not one that had not put an end to at least five girl-babies." It is a work of supererogation to add that few China-women bear five children.

Buddhism, which may once have been a religion of pure and lofty conceptions, is now, as seen in China, nothing more than a collection of degrading superstitions, entirely beneath the notice of an educated Confucianist. Its tonsured priests are despised and ridiculed by the people, who openly speak of them as "bald-headed asses." Taoism, once a subtle system of philosophy, has

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

been debased in like manner. It has borrowed some of the worst features of Buddhism, which has in turn appropriated several of the absurdities of Taoism. The two, after centuries of rivalry, have long since flourished peacefully side by side.

With all its merits, Confucianism is seriously wanting in attractiveness to the masses, who really know very little about it. It is a system for the philosopher in his study, not for the peasant at the plough-tail. It offers no consolations of any kind, save those to be derived from a consciousness of having done one's duty. The masses, who respect learning and authority above all things, accept Confucianism as the criterion of a perfect life. They daily perform the ceremonies of ancestral worship in all loyalty of heart, and then go off and satisfy other cravings by the practice of the rites and ceremonies of Buddhism and Taoism, which have so much more to offer by way of reward. Still, wherever Chinamen go they carry with them in their hearts the two leading features of Confucianism, the patriarchal system and ancestral worship.

During the past century, the sphere of Confucian influence has been enormously widened. Not to mention increase of population within the boundaries of China Proper, there has been extension and consolidation in Turkestan or the New Dominion, won by the victorious arms of Tso Tsung-tang in his campaigns of 1871-1878. Emigration, which was almost unknown in 1800, is in 1900 an every-day detail at the ports of southern China.

According to the favorite Chinese theory of "fulness and decay," it would only be expected that, after such a period of prosperity as was witnessed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Doctrine should suffer a temporary eclipse. Still, if this century has not been actually propitious to the peaceful development of Confucianism, opposition to Christianity has certainly proved a great stimulus, calling forth its worst features instead of its best—militant features of bigotry and fanaticism, of which Confucius, whose daily texts were Reciprocity and Forbearance, would have been the last to approve.

If Buddhism and Taoism could be displaced by Christianity, and Confucianism be recognized in its true sense as a pure cult of virtue, with commemorative ceremonies in honor of its Founder and of family ancestors who have gone before, one great barrier between ourselves and the Chinese would be broken down forever.

HERBERT ALLEN GILES.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE EMPIRE OF THE DEAD.

BY THE REV. FRANCIS E. CLARK, D. D., PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED SOCIETY OF CHRISTIAN ENDEAVOR.

"How did you enter Tientsin?" inquired an old resident of a newcomer to that famous port which has recently been captured by the allied forces of the Powers. "Oh, I came through the graveyard," answered the new arrival. The Old Timer smiled an audible smile, for every entrance to Tientsin, as well as to nearly every other Chinese city, is through "the graveyard."

The one most impressive feature of the Chinese landscape is the grave. In the south, the horseshoe grave is usually built of stone; and often, in the case of a mandarin, it is of great size and not a little architectural beauty. About Ningpo and Shanghai, a great mound, as high as a considerable hill, marks the last resting-place of thousands and tens of thousands of dead Chinamen. These *tumuli* are so numerous and so extensive that a very large proportion of the arable land which the living so sorely need is allotted to the dead. Thus, a new and serious problem is introduced into the economic situation.

About Tientsin and Peking, and in the north of China generally, the graves, while smaller and ruder, are yet so numerous as to withhold very large areas of the most desirable land from cultivation, and to withhold at the same time large amounts of rice and millet from the hungry stomachs of the half-starved coolies.

These graves are the most sacred objects in all China. Ancestor worship is the sum and substance of her religion. Before these graves are burned millions of dollars' worth of mock-money —strips of paper cut to imitate cash, or tissue paper made up into the semblance of blocks of gold and silver bullion.

Every country store in China, whatever else it lacks, is altogether likely to have a supply of mock-money for sale. A moderate

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

estimate by reliable statisticians makes the amount of good money paid for this mock-money to be burned at graves each year at least four hundred millions of dollars, while other expenses of ancestor worship would probably double this estimate. A wealthy man of Tientsin, a few months ago, spent one hundred thousand dollars on the funeral of his mother. This act of filial piety may have been justified by his unusual wealth, but it is often emulated by the poor, who subject themselves and their posterity to grinding poverty for the sake of honoring the *manes* of their ancestors.

This same regard for the dead and disregard for the living is everywhere displayed throughout the Celestial Empire. I have recently seen a great catafalque built in the middle of the principal street of Peking, occupying the whole of the wide roadway, remaining there for weeks at a time, and obstructing all the traffic of a crowded city; compelling camels, horses, donkeys, pigs, Peking carts, chair-bearers, wheelbarrows, to say nothing of thousands of foot passengers, to clamber down a ditch and to crowd through a narrow sidewalk, that led under awnings and shop porticoes, to the comparatively free roadway beyond.

I have dwelt upon this exaggerated reverence given to the dead, because it is characteristic of the people, and because it accounts, when its root principle is understood, for the pitiable state of weakness and decay to which China has been reduced, and, indirectly, for the revolution and massacres which have recently horrified the world.

China is the Empire of the Dead. It is ruled by a Dead Hand. Its glories are all in the past, and it rejoices in the fact. Its rapid dissolution as an empire cannot be understood until this idea, which enters so thoroughly into the warp and woof of the nation, is grasped. In every department of life is the Dead Hand seen. The labor of every miserable coolie, who toils fourteen hours out of every twenty-four for half as many cents in pay, is daily doubled by this superstitious reverence of the dead. Not only is he obliged to pay a considerable portion of his poor pittance for incense to propitiate the spirits, and for mock-money to pay the way of his dead forbears on the other side of the Styx, but fear of the spirits and a desire to humor them makes every day's toil immeasurably harder than it otherwise need be.

There is scarcely a straight road of any length in any Chinese city, because it is thought that the spirits cannot turn a corner,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

but will go straight on in a given direction when they get started. So they are fooled and led away from their original destination, if the road turns at a sharp angle away from the house or shop which they wish to haunt. In making a mile with his heavy burden on his back, the perspiring coolie must often travel two miles, because the road-makers have made the highway a series of zigzags, the better to bewilder the spirits of the dead.

It is also well known in China that a spirit cannot climb a hill. So, oftentimes, the road goes out of its way to surmount a hill, and every over-loaded, two-footed and four-footed beast of burden that follows that road must also go out of its way to climb that hill, and drag its burden up and down the steep incline.

But these are only the physical and more obvious aspects of this strange power of the Dead Hand. In more subtle and more powerful ways does this idea rule a quarter of the world's inhabitants. Nothing is studied but the learning of the Ancients. The examination halls, with their ten thousand cells, witness only the writing of useless essays or impotent poems on some classic theme. Proficiency in the study of neither science, law, medicine, language, theology nor art is tested within their gloomy enclosures, but simply the ability to compose a stilted sentence in ancient style. The dead hand of Confucius rules the Empire more powerfully than any other, but all the long line of teachers and sages who have followed have added the weight of their skeleton fingers.

It is not right in China to aspire to surpass your father, still less to be the equal of your grandfather, still less to approach the virtue of your great-great-grandfather. Never was the mighty power of an idea so shown as in this ancestor worship in dwarfing and stunting a great nation. "As a man thinketh in his heart, so is he." As a nation thinketh in its heart, so is it. China has been dominated and belittled by her foolish reverence for ancient days and ways.

China is a land of arrested development, and the cause of this arrest in every department of progress can be traced to this same Dead Hand that rules the Empire. The most original minds that the world has known have been natives of the most backward of the great nations of the world. Here was born, we are often told, the man who first learned the use of gunpowder, the man who invented the mariner's compass, the man who discovered the use of movable type. Here, or in Corea, lived the wise physician who

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

discovered the principle of inoculation, which the sages of the nineteenth century have been turning to such large account. For inoculation against smallpox, he blew the powdered scab from a smallpox patient into the nostril of the one he wished to treat; or, making a wound in his arm, rubbed the scab into that. To be sure, the person thus treated often died of smallpox. But it is also true that he often had the disease in a mild form, and was made forever safe from the dreadful scourge.

But the trouble with all these inventions in China was that they, too, were ruled by the Dead Hand. It was proper for a wise man to make them, but it was entirely improper for a wiser man to improve upon them. They must always remain in the primitive state in which they left the original discoverer's hand. It is as though the invention of a Fulton was a sacred thing never to be improved, and we were still doomed to paddle up the Hudson in his awkward side-wheeler at the rate of five miles an hour; or as though Stephenson's steam engine had been deemed unimprovable, and we had been destined ever since to ride behind a primitive locomotive of his original design.

In China, though gunpowder has been known for centuries, soldiers still practice for a military degree with bows and arrows, and perfect themselves in the use of the spear and broadsword. Though China has had the mariner's compass for numberless years, her junks still crawl along the shore, and she has no steamship lines that launch out into the deep and cross the seas. In China, in spite of the fact that the origin of type is lost in the traditions of the past, printing is still a primitive art, and her native newspapers are few and meagre. In China, though inoculation has been known for centuries, smallpox is still raging, and the pest shows no sign of dying out.

The fact, as I have said, gives a clue to the situation of China to-day. The decay of the nation cannot so well be accounted for on any other consideration. The startling events of the last few months are explained when read in the light of this dominating thought. The futile efforts for reform of the young Emperor; the reactionary success of a Jezebel Empress Dowager; the supine indifference of the people under the yokes that seem too heavy for any nation to bear; the rise of the semi-patriotic, anti-foreign body of desperadoes called the Boxers, who have probably at length completed the ruin of their country in the late uprising, are all

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

explained by remembering that China is the Empire of the Dead, the dead ancestor, the dead sage, the dead tradition, the dead custom.

The last three years have been momentous ones in the history of the Celestial Empire. The Dead and the Living have been in mortal combat, and, strange to say, the Dead have won, at least a temporary victory. Ancient conservatism, represented by the astute and utterly unprincipled Empress Dowager, and modern progress, represented by a well meaning though apparently weak young Emperor, first fought a battle royal, and the Empress won; while the poor Emperor was banished to an island in a lake in his own palace grounds, and, as many of those best informed believe, was slowly being poisoned at the time of the revolution by his aunt, the Empress Dowager, who, without trial or process of law, cut off the heads of six of the bravest reformers of her Empire.

The story of the battle royal between the Dead and the Living is worth recounting briefly, for it explains more recent events. In the year 1898, the Spirit of the Living appeared to be on the point of winning a great victory. It seemed as if the vast Empire was at last, after the lapse of centuries, to be rescued from the clutch of the Dead Hand. The breath of reform blew gently everywhere. As, after a long, murky night, the sweet breezes of the dawn bring freshness and life to a sleeping world, so the breeze of progress seemed about to rustle the leaves on all the trees of tradition and immemorial custom in China. This, in fact, was the case; but, alas, this was all that happened. There was a great rustling among the dead leaves that hung upon the old tree, but they were not shaken off, and the buds of Reform and Progress could not push their way or unfold their beauties.

For a time, however, it seemed that the new would, very soon, displace the old. Many of the leading governors, censors and ruling men throughout the Empire were enthusiastically in favor of the new order of things. The disastrous war with Japan had revealed to them the weakness of their vast nation. Something must be done, they felt, to avert the tide of disaster. The old had been tried and found wanting. *"Mene, mene, tekel, upharsin,"* had been written upon the wall, so that all China must take heed. There was no hope for China in the minds of these reformers, except in the adoption of Western methods and Western civilization. When a small nation like Japan, with forty millions of peo-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ple, could demolish a huge empire like China, with her four hundred millions, as an eggshell is crushed in a child's hand, there must be some potency in modern ironclads, and Krupp guns and the military tactics of the nineteenth century over the bows and arrows and arquebuses and antiquated smooth-bores on which China still relied for victory. The wave of progress gathered volume, as it rolled onward. It affected and profoundly moved the highest dignitaries of the Empire. It even found its way within the thrice-walled Forbidden City, the Purple Imperial City, in the heart of Peking. It reached the palace of the Emperor, and that amiable ruler threw himself most heartily into the new order of things. He called for Western books. He asked to be instructed in Western sciences, arts and religion. It is even thought by some that he became a Christian, in part led by a favorite of the court, a girl who had been educated in an American mission school in Peking. It is, at least, certain that he showed himself extremely interested in Christian books. Of the one hundred and twenty-nine books which he ordered at this time, no less than fifty-four were religious books, most of them published by the "Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge among the Chinese." Among these volumes, large and small, were such books as "The Story of Our Lord," "The Story of King David," "Communion with God," "Mission Work in the South Seas," "Protestant Missionary Pioneers," "Sketch of the Christian Endeavor Society," "Family Prayers for Chinese Christians," "How the English Became Christians." Other books on Astronomy, Chemistry, Hygiene, International Law, History and Mathematics were also ordered, and the very best that could be obtained were furnished by the missionaries. Where the Emperor leads the way, many of the people are sure to follow; and the demand for books of Western Knowledge was unprecedented.

"When the popular edition of five thousand copies of MacKenzie's Nineteenth Century was brought out," writes the Rev. Timothy Richard, the eminent secretary of the afore-mentioned society, "four thousand copies of it were sold within a fortnight. This might not be considered a large number in countries where everybody reads; but, in a country where only ten per cent. read, and that tenth intensely conservative, this is a proof of an unheard of change of attitude. The old publishing houses could not meet the demand, though one firm alone ordered fifteen tons of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

paper." A large number of new printing establishments sprang up. The binders of books were unable to cope with their work. The price of paper was raised throughout the Empire, so great was the demand for books.

But the sincerity of the awakened Emperor and his earnest desire for reform were still more keenly shown by the fact that he called to his aid the most advanced men from all parts of the Empire. The energy and thorough-going zeal of the Emperor astonished his own people and foreigners alike. Said the *Shanghai Daily News,* the leading English daily of China, at the time the reforms were instituted:

"This year an actual miracle occurred in Peking. The young Emperor, whom we all believed to be a mere puppet, bred in the harem, and studiously kept in ignorance, the passive instrument of his strong-minded aunt, suddenly showed himself an intelligent man, fit to be a ruler, conscious of the humiliation his country experienced at the hands of Japan, and anxious to render such a humiliation impossible again by the adoption of reforms of all kinds. He read translations of foreign books, gathered round him a band of young reformers, and issued decree after decree, not one of them, as we have shown before, impracticable, all of them promising, if carried out, to be of real advantage to the Empire."

Nine of the edicts issued at this most hopeful juncture by the Emperor Kuang Hsu were as follows:

"(1.) To abolish the Essay system of Examination, which had been in vogue for the last 500 years;

"(2.) To establish a University for the study of Western Science in Peking;

"(3.) To convert Temples into Schools for Western education;

"(4.) To establish a Translation Board, whereby books on Western Learning are to be translated into Chinese;

"(5.) To establish a Patent Office for the encouragement of everything that is new and useful;

"(6.) To protect Christianity without any further evasions;

"(7.) To make the Reform Paper, *Chinese Progress,* the official organ of the Government;

"(8.) To abolish useless offices both in Peking and the provinces;

"(9.) To make young Manchus study foreign languages and travel abroad."

Every one of these edicts bears upon its face the stamp of common sense, sincerity and practicability. "Any one of them," it

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

has been said, "would have entitled the Emperor to favor." Other edicts covered, in the most comprehensive way, reforms of almost every description. Great trunk lines of railway were to be built by foreign syndicates, covering the land in time with a net-work of iron rails, as Europe and America are to-day covered. Social reforms, which extended even to the unbinding of women's feet, were to be inaugurated, and a hundred millions of women, whose cramped and crushed feet compel them to hobble as helpless cripples through life, would forever have blessed the memory of Kuang Hsu, could he have had his way. The whole community would have been thrown open to friendly foreign nations and a Christian code of laws in harmony with Christendom, if foreign Powers would guarantee the integrity of China. One of the most remarkable reforms was to be in the whole system of education. The Confucian classics for centuries have kept their iron grasp on educated China. To be an educated man in the "Middle Kingdom," for two thousand years, has simply meant to be possessed of a prodigious memory, and to be able to write a useless essay on some remote and academic theme derived from Confucius. All this, in the mind of the Emperor and his advisers, was to be changed in a year. Western sciences, Western languages, Western history were to be taught. Even the temples might be used for schools of Western learning. This plan aroused the ire of Buddhist priests, and doubtless contributed to the overthrow of the whole plan. As a natural consequence of these broad-minded, liberal plans, the religions of the past could not remain unaffected. It is possible, though perhaps not probable, that Christianity would have become the religion of the Empire. At any rate, Christianity would have had a free field, if no favor, which is all it wants in any land. As a result, even of this short-lived agitation, tens of thousands flocked to the missionaries for instruction.

That this, however, was not merely a short-lived propaganda, stirred up by foreigners working on the religious sensibility of the Emperor, is shown by the broad scope of the principles of the Reformers, embracing the best in their old religions and customs. I confidently believe that the reforms would have resulted in the widespread, if not universal, adoption of Christianity; but that the movement was not in the hands of foreign religious enthusiasts, but sprang from the people themselves, is shown by the following principles by which the Reformers defined their purposes:

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

1. Exhort the people to do good.

2. Teach the law of retribution; "whatsoever a man sows that shall he also reap."

3. Teach Confucianism as a necessary thing. Originally, it meant the "necessary" teaching. As man's need of food and clothing necessitates agriculture and silk culture, so the demands of his moral nature made Confucianism necessary.

4. Recognize the good in Taoism. Tao existed before heaven and earth, and is the invisible force behind all. Afterwards there arose the teaching about the pill of immortality, charms, etc., and the original idea was lost.

5. Recognize the good in Buddhism. The meaning of Sakya-Muni (Gautama) is "one who is able to love." The common people use Buddhist forms at funerals and often offer Buddhist prayers, and many intelligent men are fond of discussing Buddhism. When it talks of a holy life, of the unseen, of removing the passions, etc., it is a good thing.

6. Find out specifics in medicine. It is very desirable that they be generally known, instead of being lost at the death of those who know them.

7. Recognize the scholar as one who labors with his mind—a producer. Collect his thoughts.

8. Improve farming.

9. Establish beneficent labor. In modern days, millions are spent in great factories like Krupp's, and more money is spent in devising how to kill men than in discovering how to keep them alive.

10. Extend trade. To supply the needs of the country by the abundance of another is proper.

11. Increase useful and fresh learning, especially that knowledge whereby the poor can be saved from their poverty.

12. Study the laws of other nations.

13. Learn all about the most important things in other countries.

14. Print scientific books, maps, etc.

15. Devise some speedy method for teaching the young.

But, alas, the forces of Light and Life were not destined to have a speedy or unchecked victory. The powers of Darkness and Death would not give up the fight without a struggle. China had been too long ruled by a Dead Hand easily to accept the rule of the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Living Perhaps the Reformers went too fast, if not too far. They proposed the degradation of the leaders of the opposite party, as well as the exaltation of their own leaders. They even suggested the cutting off of the time-honored queue. This was a little too much. The wily old Empress Dowager, who had been biding her time, saw that her hour had come. She could now strike a blow at the Reformers and have a great party at her back. All the reactionaries, all the mandarins, whose official heads were endangered by the new reforms, most of the scholars who had been brought up on the old system, who could see no good in Western learning; all the priests who feared for their livelihood and their temples; and many of the common people, whose superstitious hatred of foreigners had been skillfully worked upon, and who at least feared for their precious queues, were upon her side, and she was allowed to work her wicked will upon the handful of defenseless reformers.

The Empress is certainly no mere figurehead. She must be ranked beyond question as among the really great rulers of the world. "When her consort died in 1861," we are told, "China was internally largely at the mercy of the Taiping rebels, and externally at the mercy of England and France. But when she handed over the reins of government to the Emperor, Kuang Hsu, a few years ago, China's rebellion had been put down, Kashgar had been recovered from Russia, and the nation was at peace with all the Powers." Had the Empress Dowager only been as good as she was great, as enlightened as she is strong, the history of China in the twentieth century would be very different from what it is now likely to be. But she is as bad as she is powerful, as unscrupulous as she is shrewd, and the poor Reformers had short shrift when she really decided to put them down.

On the 28th of September, 1898, six of them were put to death. Their names deserve to be recorded in the roll of the world's martyrs. They are: Tan Sze-Tung, Lin Kwang-Ti, Yang Tswei, Lin Shio, Yang Shin-shen, and Kang Kwang-jin. The chief of them all, Kang Yu-Wei, escaped with his life, first to Hong Kong, then to Singapore. I have seen more than one city wall in China placarded with large posters offering a reward of a hundred thousand dollars for Kang Yu-Wei, dead or alive.

A few weeks ago, when sailing into the beautiful river Min, on whose bank lies the great city of Foochow, I saw a fine Chinese

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

man-of-war, the fastest war-cruiser in the world, it is said, commanded by the admiral of the navy, just as she was returning from her fruitless search for this reformer. The little Chinese merchantman, "Hae Shin," on which I was embarked, had come to anchor for the night just off the bar of the river Min, and had the great cruiser for a companion at the same anchorage. The next morning the big war-ship weighed anchor, and sailed off toward Shanghai; and as she started, for the sake of signalling the convoys, she blew a long blast on her siren. As the wild yell of that most sardonic and unearthly of all signals rang out on the still air, and was re-echoed from the mountains along the shore, it seemed to me like the despairing wail of the reform party in China, that has all the power of the Empire turned against it, and like the death knell of the Empire itself.

So the powers of Darkness seemed to have conquered for the time. China was again ruled by the Dead Hand of the Past. She, who came so near being the Empire of the Quick, was still the Empire of the Dead. The results were seen on every hand. Not only were all the leading reformers killed or banished, and the rest, the more politic reformers, like Li Hung Chang, shut out from all effectiveness by their own fear or selfishness; not only was the Emperor a prisoner in his own Forbidden City, and probably dying of slow poison; but throughout the Empire the clock of Progress seemed to have stopped. The extraordinary demand for books of Western learning ceased. The converts to Christianity fell off; many former inquirers no longer dared to see the missionary, and hatred of foreigners and all things foreign broke out with new violence. Old superstitions were revived, absurd rumors about missionaries poisoning wells, and foreigners burying babies under all their new railroad sleepers were assiduously circulated; and the air, as I breathed it in North China just before the massacre, was surcharged with threats of violence and outrage, upon foreigners and native Christians alike.

The most extraordinary exhibition of this anti-foreign reaction was found in the rise and spread of a secret society called the "Boxers," or, as its name might be literally translated, "The Righteous Harmonious Fist." In a day, almost, this society attained threatening proportions. The Boxers themselves are, for the most part, a poor, deluded lot of country louts who believe that by some gymnastics and incantations and by a species of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

hypnotism, they can render themselves invulnerable to foreign bullets and all foreign weapons. Their significance does not consist in their valor or even in their numbers, but in the fact that they are symptomatic of the ignorance and superstition of the ruling forces of the nation to-day. In every convenient way it was shown that the Government did not really wish to put them down. The superstition and ignorance of the Boxers is well shown by the following placard which was widely posted at the time. It shows the spirit, as well as the superstitions, of the "Harmonious Fisters":

"The relatives and friends of all around have noticed recently that the members of the Protestant and Roman Catholic religions poison the wells with poisonous powder, so that whoever drinks the water will have their lungs and intestines rotten in eighteen days. Two men have been arrested by us at Lin-Li-Chuang, and we found out that they have poison all over their bodies. They are silent when they are questioned, and bold when tortured. Whoever smells the poison will die immediately; you must be very cautious in drinking the water. Those who have seen this notice must make it known; it will avert the calamity of the people. It must by all means be done."

The recent revolution, with all its heartrending accompaniments of murder, siege and suffering, such as the world has not known since it was shocked by the Indian Mutiny, more than a generation ago, are all the result of the irrepressible conflict between the Past and the Present, the Dead and the Living. The final contest which has challenged the attention of the world was inevitable. It might have been delayed. It might have been less bloody. It could not have been averted. What is to be the outcome? I am no prophet, but I confess that I see light in but one quarter of the heavens. China may be speedily divided between the great nations of the world, because of the rottenness and incapacity of her own government; and the better rule of the Anglo-Saxon, the Celt and the Slav may work out for her a partial and external regeneration.

But, when one is upon the spot, though this outcome seems most desirable, it does not seem to be a solution of the real problem of the regeneration of China. It is not certain that, if the Powers carve up China among themselves, the real China, the people of China, would be materially improved. The nation would be still the same stolid, superstitious, ignorant mass of unprogressive humanity that it is to-day. The lives of the common people would

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

still be ruled by the Dead Hand of the Past. They would still worship their ancestors and waste their substance on incense and mock-money. They would still give the best land to the dead, and their poorest acres to feed the living. I see no real hope for the regeneration of China except by the slow process of education and evangelization. The leaven is already at work, though it has not as yet by any means leavened the whole lump. More than two thousand missionaries, mostly American and British, were at work in the Middle Kingdom at the time of the revolution. Their day schools were numbered by the thousand, perhaps by the ten thousand. They have established hundreds of hospitals, in some of which as many as ten thousand patients are treated every year. In the churches of the Protestant missionaries alone are gathered one hundred thousand substantial converts. Their adherents are many times that number. The Catholic missions have more adherents still.

In addition to these thousands of day schools are many high schools, colleges of high grade, and schools for theological instruction. There are also a multitude of Sunday schools, Christian Endeavor societies, schools for the training of Bible women, orphanages, and institutions for the blind and the deaf and dumb, all under auspices of Christian men and women. The aggregate of this work is immense. The story can never be told in print, nor the good accomplished computed in figures. There is no such force at work to-day for the regeneration of China as the army of missionaries sent out from America and Great Britain.

This is not my opinion only; it is the opinion of many of those who have lived longest in the land, and have had the widest opportunity for investigation. Said one of America's most successful and sagacious Ministers Plenipotentiary to me, when speaking of another Asiatic nation: "The most potent force for the uplift of this country is not trade or commerce or diplomacy, but Christian missions. The missionaries are doing more for this land than all other foreigners combined." This is eminently true of China. I see little hope for China in any other direction. This force transforms character rather than changes dynasties, and, without a transformed character, China can never be regenerated. Dynasties may come and dynasties may go, but corruption and ignorance, greed and superstitions, reverence for a dead and outgrown Past go on forever. The individual Chinaman must be

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

transformed before the nation can be transformed. A mere change of dynasty, a mere division of the nation between stronger, greedy nations will not usher in China's Golden Day.

Already, as I have said, much has been done. Considering the resources at the command of the missionaries, a surprising work has been accomplished. At the cost of the maintenance of half a dozen iron-clads each year, all the Protestant mission-work of China is being carried on. Until one travels from Canton to Calgan and takes long journeys into the interior, one cannot realize the extent of this wonderful work, or the resourcefulness of the missionaries. Nor can one realize the hold which the missionary has upon the future of China. He has not only established churches and planted schools; he has written books and translated other books, and introduced Western arts and sciences, and pioneered the way for commerce and civilization.

In China, as in other countries, the debt of Philology and Present and the hopeful Future. The missionary is breaking the other sciences to the missionary is enormous. Many volumes would not recount all their services.

But better than all is the unseen but potent influence of unselfish, noble characters that impress themselves on other characters, and turn the people away from the dead Past to the living Present and the hopeful Future. The missionary is breaking the grip of the Dead Hand of the Past on China's throat. The missionary is showing the Chinaman that the "Foreign Devil," as he calls all "Outlanders," has something that the Chinaman needs, something of science and civilization, as well as religion. The missionary is opening the Chinaman's eyes to the folly of his old superstitions. The missionary is unsealing the Chinaman's ears, that he may hear the tramp of the advancing nations of the Twentieth Century. The missionary is slowly but surely transforming the Empire of the Dead into the Empire of Life and Light. There may be, for a time, revolutions and counter-revolutions, anarchy and misrule, turmoil and massacre; but the yeast, insignificant as it now appears to some, has been placed within the meal. The Brighter Day may be long in coming to distracted China, but it is on the way.

FRANCIS E. CLARK.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COMMERCIAL ASPECT OF THE YELLOW PERIL.

BY ALLEYNE IRELAND.

THE present widespread interest in China is due to sensational causes; but these causes, deplorable as they are in themselves, may yet serve the useful purpose of so fixing public attention on the Celestial Empire as to ensure a solution, by one method or another, of the great and urgent problem which the future progress of China presents to the world. It is not too much to hope that the recent Chinese atrocities will give that spur to common international action, without which the situation in the Far East would have passed from one stage of complexity to another, with an increasing probability that, when an outbreak occurred, the final settlement would be effected rather with a view to satisfying the ambitions of a single victorious Power, than with the object of safeguarding the general interests of the civilized world.

In the present day of telegraphic communication, our attention is diverted from one part of the globe to another with a rapidity which forbids concentration on any single issue in which our national interests are involved. We turn from Venezuela to Alaska, from Alaska to Manila, from Manila to the Transvaal, from the Transvaal to China; and when, in addition to watching these foreign matters, a nation is called upon to take up a number of important internal questions affecting every class of interests, it is little to be wondered at that there is often a failure to keep pace with the progress of certain great movements which, important as we realize them to be, fail, from the very sluggishness of their course, to chain our attention. The progress of China is one of these movements. Whilst we have been occupied for years with the noisy avalanches of less important matters, this Chinese question has stolen upon us with the slow but terrible advance of a glacier. The attacks on the Legations in Peking,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

an atrocity scarcely paralleled in the history of the world, is simply one of the avalanches accompanying the great, slow, central movement; and, in exacting reparation for this outrage, the fact should not be lost sight of that it is only a symptom, and that mere compensation and reprisal will still leave untouched the greater issue behind—the future of China and the Chinese people.

It is not my present purpose to examine the prospects of China's political future, in the light of the conflicting ambitions of the Great Powers; such an inquiry, however exhaustive in its nature, would only lead me back to the point from which I wish to start, namely—the consideration of the Chinese people as a factor in human progress. This method of approach appears to possess some considerable advantage over the other from the fact that, whereas the policy of the Great Powers toward China must be finally limited and determined by the attitude of China as a nation, the social and industrial development of the Chinese, as a people, could only be to some extent advanced or retarded, in point of time, by any conceivable political change effected by the intrusion of the Great Powers.

If the Chinese were a people like the Russians, the Germans or the French, we (I address chiefly American and British readers) would observe any marked increase in their industrial activity or in their national aggressiveness with some misgiving, possibly, but certainly without any feeling that our own national existence, either social or economic, was seriously threatened by what we would be compelled to regard as a progressive movement in a fellow nation. We would flatter ourselves that what a Russian, or a German, or a Frenchman could do, an American or an Englishman could do at least as well.

But it is precisely because the Chinaman differs from all other men, that the prospect of a radical change in the Chinese life and policy is viewed, by many intelligent observers, with an interest not unmixed with alarm.

If I do not share the view held by some, that China is destined to become the greatest active power in the world, it is rather because of the hope that the concerted action of the Great Powers will limit the expansion of China to those regions in the Tropics where she would have all white races at a disadvantage, than of any belief that the Chinaman, if left to himself, is incapable of developing the necessary amount of self-assertion.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

If we supplement an estimate of the dynamic potentiality of the Chinese people, by an examination of some of the natural and artificial forces which are likely to extend or to limit the area of Chinese activity, we may form some idea of the problem which would be created by the wholesale adoption by the Chinese of those material aids to progress which we have so persistently endeavored to thrust upon their unwilling attention.

China, with her dependencies, covers an area of 4,460,000 square miles and has a population of about 400,000,000; in other words, her people represent one-fourth of the population of the globe, spread over about one-twelfth of its land surface. The land varies in fertility and in mineral resources in the different Provinces; but it is certain that the country contains the largest coal and iron deposits within the territory of any single nation. Von Richtofen, the German geologist, estimates that the single Province of Shan-se could supply the whole world's requirements in coal and iron, at the present rate of consumption, for three thousand years. And the productiveness of the soil is, at least, equal to that of any equal area in the world.

Up to the present time, the vast resources of the Chinese Empire, with millions of hands on the spot to develop them, have been practically closed to the world. The insignificance of the export trade of China, when compared with that of other nations, will be seen from the following rough calculation:

EXPORTS OF DOMESTIC PRODUCE IN 1897.

	Dollars.	Per Capita.
China	120,000,000	$0.30
United Kingdom	1,170,000,000	29.25
France	719,000,000	18.43
Germany	890,000,000	17.11
United States	1,032,000,000	14.74

From these figures, it is seen that the average value of the annual exports *per capita* from the four Western nations is $19.88, as compared with 30 cents *per capita* from China. If we give China the benefit of a probable over-estimate of population, and of a possible under-estimate of exports, and if we place the exports at 40 cents *per capita*—a liberal allowance—we observe that, at the present time, it takes fifty Chinamen to place on the world's market an amount of produce equal to that distributed by one American or one European.

It would, of course, be mere guesswork to try and estimate the exact effect which the general introduction of machinery, of im-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

proved agricultural methods, and of adequate transportation facilities would have upon the export returns of that country; but, within certain limits, such a speculation may be sufficiently near the truth to afford a basis for some general deductions.

Let us suppose, then, that during the next ten years China adopts Western methods, to an extent which would still leave one white man equal to five Chinamen in productive efficiency; the result would be, basing our calculation on the figures given above, that China's exports would amount to not less than $1,600,000,000, a sum equal to the total combined value of domestic exports from Germany and France in 1897, and representing seventy-five per cent. of the total exports from the United States and the United Kingdom together.

It may be suggested that China would find a difficulty in securing markets for such a great quantity of produce, because in some countries a strong prejudice exists against Chinese goods, and it might be expected that many countries would erect formidable tariffs against Chinese manufactures. If we admit that these factors would play some part in determining the quantity and direction of Chinese exports, and that the prejudice against Chinese goods would probably operate to keep down a Chinese export trade to the United States, to Australasia and Canada, and to a lesser extent to France and Germany, the fact must not be overlooked that a Chinaman can outwork and underlive any other worker in the world, and that this circumstance would enable him to appeal, even in countries most hostile to him, to the preference of the majority of people for the cheaper product.

The question of Chinese trade development, however, is not primarily one of competition with the white man in his home markets, but rather of a rivalry with Europe, America and Australasia, in the Tropical and sub-Tropical markets. The importance of this fact becomes more apparent, if we consider the general prospects of trade development in the future. A moment's reflection serves to satisfy us that, whatever increase may be looked for in the trade of the European countries, of North America and of non-Tropical Australasia, a vastly greater proportional development may be expected in the trade of the Tropical and sub-Tropical countries. The white man at home has reached such a high degree of efficiency as a producer and as a consumer that it cannot be foreseen that the rate of progress to

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

be observed during the last century will be maintained during the century upon which we are about to enter. The people of the Tropics, on the other hand, are still in a very low state of productive efficiency, and their value as consumers is proportionately small. I have shown elsewhere* that, in the British Empire, the productive efficiency of the Tropical as compared with the non-Tropical man is as 1 to 23, and that the value of the former as a consumer is as 1 to 17, compared with the value of the latter. It is certain, moreover, that in the Tropics outside the British Empire—under less efficient forms of government, and with less protection for the products of industry—the economic value of the Tropical man is even less than this.

Concisely, the formula which I would deduce from the above facts is this, that the difference between actual and normally potential economic efficiency is so much greater in the Tropical man than in the non-Tropical man, that the trade of the former could be doubled in the time which would be required to raise the trade of the latter by thirty per cent.

Now, even if we omit from our calculations the possibility—which will be examined later—of large portions of the Tropics and of the sub-Tropics becoming preponderatingly Chinese in the composition of their population, it is clear that in these markets we shall be compelled to enter into an open rivalry with Chinese products. The areas in which the competition of a vitalized Chinese trade would be most likely to affect American and European exports are these: India, Ceylon, Burmah, Siam, the Straits Settlements, Borneo, New Guinea, the Pacific Islands, Tropical Africa, Mauritius, Brazil, Peru, Chile, the Central American Republics, Ecuador, Bolivia and Venezuela. It should be noted that, in each of these countries, the Chinaman could settle and thrive, and that, in some of them, he has already done so, whilst in most of them the white man can never be more than a temporary resident.

The commercial problem created by the prospect of an economic awakening of China may be said to consist, in its simplest form, in the possible exclusion of the white race from participation in the advantages which would follow an increase in the economic efficiency of the Tropical and of the sub-Tropical peoples.

* "Tropical Colonization," pp. 110, 111.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Up to this point, however, we have considered only the effect which a simple economic development of China, unaccompanied by other great changes in the national life and policy, would have upon the commercial prospects of the white nations. If we now introduce a new factor, namely, a possible change in the social economy or habit of the Chinese people, we find that the commercial problem becomes greatly complicated.

It is a curious fact that, notwithstanding the general spread of education, the vast majority of people appear to have but a slight knowledge of the geography of the earth. For instance, my own experience has been that not more than one person out of five, among educated people to whom I have put the inquiry, have known that Liverpool is to the east of Edinburgh, that Calcutta is within a few miles of being in the North Temperate Zone, and that Glasgow is in the same latitude as Southern Alaska. I refer to this, because I imagine that many of the popular misconceptions about the physiological and psychological make-up of the Chinaman are to be traced to a general impression that the Chinese are a Tropical people. Of course, when we deliberately set out to consider the matter, we realize at once that only a small part of China lies within the Tropics, and that a great part of the Empire enjoys a winter at least as severe as that of New England. But, for most people, the Chinaman falls into the same category as the Filipino, the Bengalee and the Negro, and only those who have had reason to pay some attention to Chinese affairs bear constantly in mind the fact that the climatic discipline of the Chinaman has been that of the Frenchman, the German, the Austrian, the American and the Briton.

It is most important that we should place the Chinaman where he belongs geographically, unless we wish to fall into the error of supposing that, as a factor in future industrial competition and in the coming struggle for race supremacy, he is no more to be taken into account than the East Indian or the Negro.

Now, what manner of man is the Chinaman in point of fact? He has been described over and over again by hundreds of writers; but I select three brief descriptions, in order that we may have a clear conception of him before we proceed to discuss the prospect of his social expansion. Says His Excellency Wu Ting-Fang, the Chinese Minister at Washington:

"Experience proves that the Chinese as all-around laborers can

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

easily distance all competitors. They are industrious, intelligent and orderly. They can work under conditions that would kill a man of less hardy race; in heat that would suit a salamander or in cold that would please a polar bear, sustaining their energies through long hours of unremitting toil, with only a few bowls of rice."*

Reinsch, in his "World-Politics at the End of the Nineteenth Century," says:

"The Chinese are an active, energetic race. For ages there has been with them a survival of the hardiest. Trained from youth to subsist on the most meagre diet, to get along with little sleep, and to work patiently for twelve or fourteen hours a day, these men scoff at difficulties and exertions which would within a year weary a European to death."

Lafcadio Hearn thus described the Chinese:

"A people of hundreds of millions disciplined for thousands of years to the most untiring industry and the most self-denying thrift, under conditions which would mean worse than death for our working masses—a people, in short, quite content to strive to the uttermost in exchange for the simple privilege of life."†

Such is the man; and, when we consider the area of his usefulness, we are confronted with the fact that he can live and thrive and multiply in any part of the habitable world, whilst the white man, if he is to retain his race characteristics, must always remain a bird of passage in almost every country lying between 30° N. and 30° S.

If we reject the possibility of the Chinese ever penetrating in force either to the North or to the South of the above limit, we are still forced to admit that the higher races cannot hope to people any of the Northern Hemisphere outside of Europe, North America and Russian Asia, and that the whole of the Southern Hemisphere, with the exception of the non-Tropical Australasia and, possibly, of Cape Colony and Natal, must derive its future population from what we loosely call the lower races. It is significant that, even in the United States and in Australasia, countries in which the white man has the best possible chance of development, and in which he has least to fear from the competition of alien races, the dread of the Chinaman has found expression in stringent legislation limiting his immigration.

Fortunately, up to the present time, the Chinese people have turned their eyes away from extensive emigration, and have thus

*North American Review, July, 1900.
†Atlantic Monthly, April, 1896.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

failed to use efficiently their superior physiological adaptability. This neglect of opportunity is attributable to a great variety of causes, most of which are sufficiently well understood by students of sociology. Amongst the most obvious may be named the extent and natural resources of the home territory, which have rendered emigration from economic motives unnecessary; the intense conservatism of the Chinese people, due in a great measure to the fact that, until within the present century, China has been absolutely self-sufficient and has had little intercourse with foreign nations; the disinclination of the Chinaman to separate himself from his associates in the innumerable secret societies the protection of which constitutes for him a sort of vested interest; and the impossibility of performing in foreign countries the various offices connected with the national system of ancestor-worship.

Notwithstanding these deterrent factors, Chinamen have emigrated in such numbers that, although their absence is not felt at home, their presence has exerted a powerful influence abroad. Thus in the East the Chinaman is found in ever-increasing numbers in the Malay Peninsula, in Java, in Siam, in Borneo, in New Guinea, in the Philippine Islands, in Burmah, in Sumatra, and in Mauritius; whilst he has penetrated as far West as Hawaii, Central and South America, and the West Indies.

There is every reason to suppose that, throughout the Tropics, possibly excepting India, the Chinaman, even should he continue to emigrate in no greater force than hitherto, will gradually supersede all the native races. The reason for this is not far to seek. The one thing in which Tropical countries are deficient is an effective labor supply. The economic history of the Tropics, during the past three centuries, is largely a narrative of the efforts made by the land owners to secure labor for the development of their properties. The autochthonous races were utilized, until they disappeared under the strain of steady and severe toil; then slavery was tried and discarded; and then followed various systems of imported contract labor. We find that the labor supply of the Tropics, subsequently to the abolition of slavery, has consisted of free Negroes, for the most part quite unreliable, and of East Indian and Chinese imported contract laborers. These imported contract laborers, either East Indian or Chinese, were introduced, and in most instances are still being introduced, into Jamaica, Trinidad, Martinique, St. Lucia, Guadeloupe, British,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Dutch and French Guiana, Cuba, Peru, Hawaii, the Fiji Islands, Natal, Mauritius, the Straits Settlements, Java and Queensland, and a great number of unindentured Chinese have gone to the Philippine Islands.

As there is no possibility of white labor being utilized in most parts of the Tropics, the choice lies between the Chinaman, the Negro and the East Indian. But the Chinaman is, under all circumstances, a better laborer than either of the others; for he has infinitely more industry than the former and infinitely more strength and staying power than the latter. So great is his superiority that the Tropical planter would prefer a good supply of unindentured Chinamen to East Indians bound by contract.

I have not been able to secure any reliable statistics exhibiting the effect which Chinese imported contract labor has had upon the population of the countries employing it; but the following figures, relating to the population of British Guiana, show in a striking manner the effect of East Indian immigration.

COMPOSITION OF POPULATION OF BRITISH GUIANA.

	Per cent. Census of 1831.	Per cent. Census of 1861.	Per cent. Census of 1891.	Per cent. Estimate 1901.
White	3.22	7.77	6.18	6.00
Black	96.78	75.48	53.45	44.87
East Indian	00.00	14.98	38.98	47.13
Others	00.00	1.77	1.39	2.00
	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

In the above figures, aboriginal Indians, of whom there are about 10,000, are not taken into account, and mixed races are counted as Black, thus giving the Blacks a liberal estimate.

It is seen that the whites scarcely hold their own, notwithstanding the fact that many thousands, chiefly Portuguese, have been imported as laborers; the Blacks, on the other hand, have fallen in number from 96.78 per cent. to 44.87 per cent. of the population, while the East Indians have increased in forty years from 14.98 per cent. to 47.13 per cent.

If we consider the peculiar character of the Chinese people, it cannot be doubted that they would have a more radical influence on the population of the Tropical countries to which they emigrate than that exerted by the East Indians, and, bearing this in mind, we see that the prospect of the Tropical regions becoming Chinese socially, at least, is not unreasonable.

Still, leaving out of the question a political expansion of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

China, it may be profitable to inquire whether there is any reasonable likelihood that the well-known aversion of the Chinese to emigration might be increased to such an extent as to operate as a complete check.

In order to determine this, we must inquire into the causes which lie at the back of Chinese emigration. Broadly speaking, Chinese emigrants may be divided into four classes:

1. Criminals escaping from justice;

2. Those who are immediately threatened with persecution from the high officials of the Southern Provinces, or who have already suffered such persecution;

3. Those whose friends or relatives have emigrated, and have carried or sent back the news of the protection of the fruits of industry to be found in most countries governed by white men;

4. Those who are influenced by the pictures of the prosperity and freedom of Christian countries, which the missionaries paint for their following.

It is thus seen that, if the Chinese Government were conducted on the principles which guide Western nations, if, in short, a vigorous reform movement were carried out, the motives for emigration would no longer be strong enough to overcome the Chinaman's preference for staying at home; and he would then remain in China, and worship the bones of his ancestors, until, perhaps a century hence, the population began to press on the means of subsistence.

When emigration became an economic necessity, China might and probably would expand socially without pressing on over-sea territory. A glance at the map shows that the natural outlet for Chinese expansion is in Thibet, Burmah, Cochin-China and Siam; for, although Russia may press on China from the north, no formidable competitor exists to the south, where France is helpless in Indo-China; where Siam could not, if it would, prevent an influx of Chinese, and where England in Burmah and in the Malay Peninsula is prepared to accept the Chinaman as an immigrant.

Under the foregoing conditions, it is clear that the Chinese saturation of the Tropics may be conceivably delayed for a considerable period, and that the stress of a possible Chinese commercial competition would thus be lessened to the extent of saving the Tropical and sub-Tropical markets from becoming Chinese

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in the nature of their requirements, at any rate in the very near future.

Up to this point, we have considered the question of Chinese race supremacy in the Tropics, on the supposition that the natural course of events would not be interfered with by the adoption of a definite policy of expansion by the Chinese Government. But it is by no means beyond the range of possibility that China may, at no distant date, embark on a policy of territorial expansion; indeed, there are many reasons for supposing that, given the necessary conditions, China would certainly look for an expansion of her political influence in new directions.

If those who predict the complete political dismemberment of China are correct in their forecast there will be, of course, no Chinese national policy in the future; but I think that there is ample reason to doubt the correctness of this view.

Two powerful factors combine to insure the endurance of China as a political unit; one is the hostile attitude of the United States and of Great Britain toward any wholesale cutting up of the Empire, and the other is that, throughout the Central and Southern Provinces, the climatic conditions will always render impossible a permanent occupation by white men. It may, indeed, be doubted whether the United States and Great Britain, although they might forbid the permanent occupation of Chinese territory by France, Germany or Italy, would go so far as to forcibly oppose the southern extension of Russia's Siberian boundary, or the acquisition of Korea by Japan. But the utmost that is at all likely to happen is that Russia should occupy Manchuria and Mongolia, and that Japan should take possession of the Korean Peninsula.

If this should occur China would certainly seek compensation to the South, where from climatic reasons no European race could hope successfully to resist her advance, and the absorption of Cochin-China, and more remotely of Siam and Southern Thibet, would follow.

Even if we conceive China as shorn of her Northern Provinces and for a time checked in her southern advance, we still have a great Chinese nation, at least capable of a definite foreign policy. It seems probable that, whatever may be the immediate issue of the present situation, the China which remains intact will develop into a formidable military and naval power.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The allies have encountered with surprise a military China very different from the one engaged in the Chino-Japanese war of 1894-1895; and it is reasonably certain that recent experiences will be followed by an enormous increase of the naval and military forces of the Empire. With 400,000,000 people to draw from, with the revenue which a reformed Administration could procure from such a population, and with unlimited natural resources of the country at her disposal, China could easily make herself the dominant power of the Far East.

In this position, what would her policy be? Would she be content to accept the loss of Manchuria and Mongolia as an accomplished fact, or would she embark on a campaign of reprisal?

In any event, the industrial development which may be expected to follow even a moderate degree of internal reform, if accompanied by the adoption of Western industrial methods, will soon set China at work seeking foreign markets. If these are accorded her she may, in the absence of an aggressive national policy, look forward to a long period of peaceful progress, relieved by an overflow of population to the south, unaccompanied by any extension of her political influence. But if she finds her goods shut out from Japan, from Russia and French Asia, from the Philippines, and from the Dutch East Indies, China may be forced to follow the example of Great Britain and occupy large tracts of land for trade purposes, which otherwise she might have been content to see under the political control of other nations.

The prospect of a powerful and united China, driven, through the narrow commercial policy of the more civilized Powers, into a fight for markets, is not a pleasant one; and it is doubtful whether, having secured them, she would select to follow the lead of Great Britain by throwing them open to the world, or to take a leaf out of the book of France and practically close her colonial ports to all foreign merchandise.

ALLEYNE IRELAND.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE ROOT OF THE CHINESE TROUBLE.

BY JOHN FOORD, SECRETARY OF THE AMERICAN ASIATIC ASSOCIATION.

WAS the outbreak of the elements of disorder in North China a revolt against the advance of Western civilization, or a result of the corruption, ignorance and incapacity of the government of the Empress Dowager? On the answer to that question depends the direction to be given to the history of a fourth of the human race—whether a pacified and reformed China shall lend a new impetus to human progress, or a disturbed and reactionary one stand as a menace to the world's peace. A plausible case might be made out for the theory that the disturbances in Shan-tung were simply the result of a fanatical hatred of the foreigner common to all Chinamen, which happened to have there some peculiarly aggravating causes for its display. There is, first, the missionary with his subversive teaching and his offensive way of appealing to his consul for the protection of his converts; and, next, the foreign soldier who comes to redress the wrongs of the missionary, and incidentally to possess himself of a slice of Chinese territory, bringing in his train the builder of railroads and the exploiter of mines. As it is not so long since riotous mobs of our own race took to smashing spinning-frames as the cause of their poverty, and sober students of passing events predicted direful consequences from the expropriation of the stage-coach, we may make allowance for the feelings of the Chinaman who sees in the steam-propelled carriage coming ruin for the porter and wheelbarrow industries, however little we may understand his more occult sentiment about ancestral graves, Feng-shui, and the tendons of the earth-dragon.

It sounds probable, to say the least, that the progress of the nineteenth century could not make its disturbing inroads on the oldest of all surviving systems of human civilization without en-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

countering resistance. It might be further argued that the pioneers of progress in Shan-tung did not affect very gentle methods. The mailed fist was a little too much in evidence, as, for example, when several villages were destroyed by the Germans in retaliation for an attack on three travellers who not only escaped unharmed, but succeeded in killing with their revolvers several of their assailants. All this, however, happened after the province had reached a condition of chronic disorder and discontent, after attacks on foreigners had been frequent, and native Christians, by the score, had been robbed and murdered. The fact that things were not always so in Shan-tung, raises the question of how the anti-foreign feeling of the province reached the proportions it did, then and thereafter. Was it primarily the fault of the missionaries and their native converts, aggravated by the arbitrary ways of mine-prospecting and railroad-surveying Germans, or is the root of the trouble to be found in the acts and attitude of the Chinese Government and its representatives?

As recently as thirteen years ago, Shan-tung was one of the best administered, as it was also one of the most prosperous and contented, provinces in China. It was agreed by all observers that the moral, no less than the physical, qualities of the natives were of the highest. A traveller who entered the province from the south, in 1887, testifies to the difference in the treatment he received after crossing the frontier from Kiangsu. In the latter he had encountered rudeness and obstruction; on entering Shan-tung, into the prefecture of Ichow, he was received at the very first village with courtesy and even kindness; and, with but one exception, he found the people throughout the whole province equally hospitable. The exception was at T'ai-an, a place of pilgrimage from time immemorial, which was found swarming with sturdy beggars, who showed signs of hostility that were very soon checked by the city authorities. The Governor, or Futai, of that time was Changyeo, a Chinaman of fine physique, who had served with distinction in Turkestan, and under whose rule disorder did not dare to show its head. To quote from a recent authority on this point: "The soldiers, well drilled and well trained, were a real source of protection to the people, and apart from the drain on its resources, arising from the unsettled condition of the Hoang-ho (the Yellow River), the province was prosperous and contented." Changyeo died poor, and, as the same authority aptly puts it, "in these two

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

words lay the secret." He had turned the revenues of his Government to their legitimate ends, and so had incurred the hostility of Peking. The Hoang-ho, appropriately named "China's sorrow," is, in its frequent overflows, especially the scourge of Shan-tung, through which it pursues the last two hundred miles of its erratic course. A serious attempt was made under the direction of Changyeo to provide conservation works to check the destructive inundations, and the money raised for the repair of the embankments was honestly expended, whatever may have been the limitations of the applied engineering skill.

It was not the coming of the foreigner that disturbed the comparatively happy estate of Shan-tung, under a capable and honest Governor. The foreigner, in the person of the missionary, was there already, and the treaty port of Chefoo was then, as now, one of the great marts of foreign trade. It was with the advent of Fujun, the incapable successor of Changyeo, that a change for the worse came over the province. Lawlessness went unpunished, and the foreigner became a permitted object of attack. But the course of events of which the present situation is the immediate sequel, did not begin till Li Ping-heng was appointed Governor in 1894. Li has recently been heard of as the Inspector-General of the Yangtsze provinces, in which capacity he carried the mandate of the Empress Dowager to the Yangtsze Viceroys, calling on them to co-operate with Peking for the expulsion of the foreigners. He has been correctly described as a type of everything bad and objectionable in Chinese officialdom—a conservative of the worst type and a bigoted hater of foreign ideas. His misgovernment of Shan-tung was typical of his class and character. He filled all the posts he could with his own people, showed a fertile ingenuity in extracting money from the people, squandered the taxes raised for the embankments of the Yellow River, and gave the turbulent elements of the province a free rein. Between gross misgovernment and revolution in China, there is always the intermediate step of the formation of secret societies. These sprang up on all sides under the rule of Li, in Shan-tung; and, by way of providing an outlet for their activity, their members were given to understand that the Christians and the foreigners were fair game. There was distress, acute and widespread, in the province, for the Hoang-ho had burst its neglected banks, and the floods brought famine in their train. The baleful influence of the foreigner was

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

held to be accountable for all this, and the missionaries and their converts suffered accordingly.

For the purpose of this argument, it is not necessary to assume that the teachers of the Christian religion in China have all been men and women with tact as perfect as their faith is pure, nor need it be maintained that the Chinese convert is uniformly impelled to embrace Christianity by entirely unworldly motives. In point of fact, not a few missionaries have not been above promoting conversion by the exercise of what we should call a political pull, and the astute Chinaman has frequently found it to his advantage to feign conversion, that he might have a protector to whom he could appeal when he went to law. In justice to the Protestant missionaries, it must be said that, at most of their stations, almost the first inquiry made of every convert is whether he has a lawsuit at the Yamên; and, if he has, the man is quietly advised to agree with his adversary, as the only sure means for his being received as a candidate for church membership. Among the Roman Catholic missionaries there is no such rule, and the German seizure of Kiao-chou was due to the established practice of managing the legal contests of church members. It was not the two Jesuit priests who were the victims of the murder, for which so high a price was exacted, whose lives were sought; it was the old priest at whose house they stayed for the night, and who had enraged a rich man by conducting the lawsuit of a Roman Catholic against him. But the fact cannot be too clearly kept in mind that, under good government, the people of Shan-tung lived at perfect peace with the Christian missionaries and their converts, and that it was only in a time of the grossest mal-administration that the foreigner was made the scape-goat for the sins of the rulers.

That no doubt might remain in regard to the attitude of the Empress Dowager toward the anti-foreign crusade, she appointed as the successor to Li Ping-Heng, when the latter was removed at the demand of the German Emperor, a Manchu still more ignorant and fanatical than his predecessor. This was Yü Hsien, who, as Governor of Shansi, has figured in the present crisis as one of the leaders of reaction and among the most active promoters of massacre. Even under Li Ping-Heng, isolated foreigners had been usually left alone; but the new Governor almost openly promised indemnity for outrages where only foreigners and Christians were concerned, and the elements of misrule were let loose throughout

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the province. Writing to the *North China Daily News,* of Shanghai, at the end of last year, a Chinese official of Taotai rank, residing in Chinanfu, the capital of Shan-tung, gave the following lucid summary of the results of the administration of Governor Yü:

"We are having a general panic caused by the reign of terror now running rampant throughout the province, arising through the depredations and atrocities of bandits upon the villages and towns, where they are murdering and pillaging all who ever had anything to do with foreigners and foreign missionaries. To the question: Where is the Governor, and what is he doing that he allows all this to take place under his eyes? the answer is: So great and deep is the hatred of Governor Yü against everything foreign and against all Chinese who have had anything to do with foreigners that, flinging to the four winds all prudential motives of maintaining peace within his dominion, which should be the true duty of every official, our Governor has, to the astonishment and terror of all law abiding people, actually given open help and encouragement to the bandits and desperadoes of the province, who have joined themselves together under patriotic designations as a cloak to their true aim of pillage and robbery. Put into so many words, the encouragement of the Governor to the ruffians calling themselves 'Patriots and Champions of Peace (Yi-ho-Tuan)', and to those whose original society is the 'Great Sword Association (Ta-Tao-Hui)', really means: 'Go forth and slay, pillage, and exterminate all foreigners and Chinese who are their converts, and I will forgive your sins for having formed associations and societies which are prohibited by Imperial decree and are an abomination to H. I. M. the Empress Dowager.'"

By way of estimating the value of the beautiful decrees published about this time by the Empress Dowager, it should be stated that Shan-tung is one of the provinces which have no Governor-General, and that its Governor is, therefore, the direct representative of his Imperial mistress. Governor Yü had commended himself to her favor by his anti-foreign views; and when, in deference to the determined protests of the foreign ministers, he was recalled, early in December, 1899, he was at once promoted to the higher post of Governor of Shansi. The murder of Mr. Brooks, the English Protestant missionary, occurred after Governor Yü's recall, but it was so directly due to his encouragement of the Boxers that he was rightly held responsible for the crime. He was succeeded by General Yuan Shih-Kai, the commander who was charged by the Emperor in September, 1898, with the duty of surrounding the Palace of the Empress Dowager, and taking her to a place of safety outside the capital. Instead of obeying, General Yuan told Jung Lu, the then mainstay of the Empress Dowager;

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and the *coup d'état,* involving the deposition of the Emperor, was the result. This appointment as Governor of Shan-tung was part of General Yuan's reward; and while, possibly, the worst that can be said of him is that he is a constitutional trimmer, it was not in the nature of things that he should take up the cause of the missionaries and their converts against the declared approval by the Empress Dowager of the record of his immediate predecessors.

The instructions of the Tsung-li-Yamen to General Yuan left nothing to be desired on the score of stringency, and he himself declared before leaving Peking that he would put an end to the disorder in Shan-tung within ten days. But these instructions, like the edicts of the Empress Dowager, were intended for foreign consumption only, and writing from Pangchuang, in Northwestern Shan-tung, on December 11th, a correspondent of the *North China Daily News* said: "Up to the very date of the new appointment it was known that no orders corresponding to the Peking instructions had been received at one of the principal cities, and presumptively in no other." Moreover, General Ma, who has figured prominently in recent events, and who was then in command of the Imperial troops in Shan-tung, expressed great displeasure with the conduct of a subordinate officer who had inflicted punishment on some Boxer horsemen. The officer was removed for an achievement displaying such unseasonable vigor, to the great encouragement of the Boxers, who had been temporarily demoralized in that district. The situation when General Yuan arrived at Chinanfu, the capital of Shan-tung, was thus summarized from the reports of numerous observers on the spot:

"The province has been for months the scene of anti-Christian outrages. Hundreds of Christan families have beeen robbed of their all and turned out of house and home and subjected to outrages of all kinds, with no protection from the authorities, though the missionaries have been sending repeated appeals for assistance and warnings of impending great calamity to their nearest consuls, to the capital Chinanfu, and to Peking. For some time the lives and property of the foreigners were spared, but they had to see their converts and adherents insulted and robbed and outraged without redress, to take them as refugees into their compounds, and feed and shelter them as best they could with their own by no means too redundant resources."

The Governor had taken the side of the rioters, and if his subordinates made a half-hearted effort to quell the Boxers it was their troops who were punished for interfering, and officials who tried to do their duty were snubbed or denounced to the throne.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Three weeks after the new Governor took over the seals the result was declared to be one of almost unmixed disappointment. The reports, from missionaries and others, ran after this fashion:

"There has never been a time since the beginning of the movement when there was more blatant talk, bolder threats of what is to be done in the future than at present. * * * * The Taotai whom the Governor sent out much against his will some weeks ago, to 'put down' the Boxers, is still on his rounds, which appear to take on the form of an expedition for the collection of shoes of Sycee (silver)—doubtless for the purpose of helping to pay the expenses of the General Government in putting down Boxers. The first thing for each magistrate to do is to get ready the silver, after which his report that there have never been any Boxers in his district may be presented and audited. * * * * There is no inquiry into the losses of the Christians pillaged, and the people who stole or bought for a trifle the articles from the foreign-owned house testified that the mob broke everything to splinters. In the districts of Chi-li west of us, there is a good deal of military activity, the result being to drive hundreds of bandits over the Shan-tung line, where they are making ready for the great rebellion which all accounts agree is to take place in the spring, beside which all that has gone before is a mere prelude of summer zephyrs before a tornado."

That the representatives of the Powers, if not the Powers themselves, were chargeable with contributory negligence does not admit of question. To every foreigner outside of Peking, the significance of events in the North was only too plainly apparent. Commenting on the reports of its correspondents, the *North China Daily News* said, on February 14th:

"It should be made plain to the apprehension of the high authorities in Peking that the period of fine-sounding phrases is definitely passed, and that henceforth there must be acts to match. We cannot too strongly insist that, unless this is done, it is morally certain that the opening spring will witness a rising such as foreigners in China have never seen before. The whole country from the Yellow River to the Great Wall, and beyond, will be a blaze of insurrection, which will not only annihilate every foreign interest of every sort in the interior, but will drive every foreigner out of Peking and Tientsin under conditions which it is not difficult to foresee. There has been more or less danger of such an uprising for a long time; unless strong and united efforts are now put forth, it is as certain to take place as any future event can well be. Those who are interested in preventing it will act accordingly."

Those who are chiefly interested did not act, and matters went from bad to worse. Early in April, it was reported that, though leader after leader of the Boxer and Big Sword movements had been arrested with great difficulty and after long continued press-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ure, the whole proceedings attending their prosecution were of the most perfunctory character, and an evident determination had been shown, in many cases, to establish the fact that the accused had done nothing, whereas his accusers had been in the habit of "persecuting" him and his fellow ruffians. In some cases even, despite the most positive proof of complicity in extensive raids long continued, the guilty persons were not only left at liberty, but rewarded for their patriotic efforts by the gift of a position of rank in the militia, or something similar. Accustomed to duplicity in official dealings, the shrewd Chinaman understood what such things meant, and shaped his conduct accordingly.

Here is the situation as diagnosed in Northwestern Shan-tung, on the 3rd of April last:

"Large numbers of Boxer leaders have never been interfered with in any way whatever, and never expect to be. They know that the real authorities in Peking are protecting the culprits and have been sure of it all along. It is an open secret that General Yuan received some weeks ago another of those 'Secret Instructions', the paralyzing effects of which are immediately manifest everywhere. This one consists of very few words, but is pregnant with meaning. It acknowledges the receipt of a memorial from Yuan Shih-Kai, to the effect that leaders must be 'seized', but goes on to inquire how the poor people were to know that they had been misled, and affirms that it is necessary to pity them, or else there would be a great deal of trouble. If Yuan should take the responsibility of arresting them and the trouble comes, it will come on himself. 'Respect this.' Of course he does 'respect this', to the complete obstruction of any further proceedings."

No wonder the observer was moved to say: "It is putting the case with studied mildness to say that the Chinese Government is engaged in sowing the wind on a large scale, with the probable result of reaping a wholesale crop of whirlwinds, and that, perhaps, at no distant day."

The day came all too swiftly. At the end of April, there had been no relief from the long drought in Shan-tung, and over millions of people there was creeping the dread of famine. The destruction that had been wrought by floods, year after year, was apparently to be spread over a still larger area by lack of rain. The people had been taught to blame the foreigner; encouraged to wreak on the foreigner and his converts the vengeance which an angry heaven seemed to have visited on them. Nay, more, as a correspondent wrote on the 30th of April, *àpropos* of the continuance of the Boxer uprising: "Like tigers who have tasted human

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

blood, these men will not return to peaceful callings. They have become trained in the school of crime. The lawless life of the past will cause them to long for a life in which money can be gained without the sweat and toil of months at the spade or wheelbarrow." These companies of bandits were children of the Government's own raising, and it became evident that, in the absence of any honest desire to suppress them, a reign of terror was imminent. The diplomatic corps in Peking was at last compelled to recognize the danger. About the end of the third week in May, a joint note was issued to the Tsung-li-Yamen, calling upon the Chinese Government to take some vigorous measures to suppress the Boxer movement, as otherwise the foreign legations in China would be compelled to summon military guards for their own protection. The Government informed the foreign ministers that the required steps had been taken, and that the Imperial troops had been dispatched with orders to put down the rising at once and for all. Then came information from the South that the railroad near Pao-ting-fu had been attacked by the Boxers and that of the troops dispatched against them seventy had been killed. By the 28th of May, there was evidence of the compact and far-reaching organization of the Boxers, and the destruction of the railway between the capital and Peking began. At this juncture, the foreign legations definitely informed the Tsung-li-Yamen that the time had come to take steps for their own protection, and that they had summoned foreign guards for that purpose. Happily, there was time for the foreign guards to reach Peking, despite the protest of the Chinese Government; for, in a few days more, it became evident that the Boxers were masters of the situation and that the lives of the foreign community in Peking were in peril.

After that came the abortive relief expedition under Admiral Seymour, the murder of the Japanese Secretary of Legation and the German Minister. Then followed the interval of chaos, filled with direful forebodings and horrible inventions to feed the journalistic maw withal. It will be a stirring tale when all is told, but this conclusion does not need to wait on the testimony of those who, day after day, have faced the terrors of death in the compound of the British Legation at Peking. The Chinese terror has been raised, not by missionaries, merchants or railroad builders, but by the ignorance, incapacity and corruption, and chiefly the corruption, of the rulers of China. The appetite of the Palace

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for tribute has been that of the two daughters of the horse-leech, continually crying, "Give, give," and government has been one vast system of bribes, "squeezes," and wholesale robbery. Offices, great and small, have been a matter of purchase, and the purchaser has been mainly intent on making the most of his bargain. Official peculation is the curse of China, and the root of all the evils from which it is suffering. Let that be cured or abated, and the people who starve while Palace favorites grow rich can be made to see that the foreigner may be the instrument of their well-being —"the advance agent of prosperity." Of all the punishments that Western civilization can contrive, as a penalty for the misdeeds of the Empress Dowager and her clique of obscurantist advisers, none would be so exquisitely painful or so productive of results in the highest degree beneficial to the world, as to deliver the Government of China into the hands of honest Chinamen.

JOHN FOORD.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WHAT THE CHINESE THINK OF US.

BY STEPHEN BONSAL.

THE Chinese are not a nation, but a family. Paternalism, pure and simple, is their form of government. "All who dwell within the four seas are brethren." The Emperor is the Son of Heaven and the Father of the State, as the Empress is the Mother. The Emperor, apprised of all that is going on by his officials, the "eyes and the hands of the throne," administers from time to time to his children such correction as their conduct may call for. The Empress cultivates silk-worms and spins silk, thus inculcating officially on her daughters the domestic virtues. Theoretically, at least, the Emperor must recruit his "eyes and hands" from those of his children who have been successful in the Civil Service examinations. Before the examiners, in theory, the son of the poor farmer has as good a chance as the son of an iron-capped duke, and undoubtedly the highest official career is open to the poorest aspirant; indeed, many of the most influential men in China to-day have sprung from the most humble origin. In China, no man is omnipotent, no man above criticism. There is a branch of civil servants, the Censorate, whose duty it is to go round and keep an eye upon the officials. The most powerful must bow before the decrees of the Board of Censors, who do not respect even the Son of Heaven. When his sins of omission and commission have been made clear to him by this Argus-eyed Board, the Emperor, on more than one occasion, to satisfy his own conscience or the murmurings of his people, clothed in the white garb of a penitent, has on the lofty altar of the Temple of Heaven expiated his sins, in plain view of his children and before the Powers of the air and the heavens.

The four hundred millions of China have only four hundred family names among them. It is as though, in the United States,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

there were only seventy family surnames—a million Browns, a million Smiths, and so on. The fact that there is thought to be a close blood relationship between each of the million Lis, is shown by the fact that they cannot intermarry. The million Lis may marry with the Skis, but not with one another; so that the myriads of China are all one family, with but four hundred branches. Each Viceroy is independent of interference from the Imperial Government except for grave cause, and yet every coolie knows the ways and the means by which his appeal from the decision of the local Yamen can travel through all the intermediary stages, until it finally reaches the Emperor himself. And again, theoretically, this can be done without the outlay of a single cent. The law of the land is simply a codification of the edicts which have been issued at various times by the reigning Emperors. They have been studied by such eminent Western legists as Sir George Stanton, and pronounced to be humane and admirable in many ways.

If we Westerners could only get over the idea that China did not exist until we discovered her, about 1840, a great deal of progress would be made toward a better understanding of her, and a *modus vivendi* might be reached under which our traders, our missionaries, and even our public ministers would not require to live in constant fear of their lives, and at times to take refuge under the guns of our war vessels. Of course, Westerners have been to China, and travellers have written wondrous tales of this strange people since the days of Herodotus. The Nestorian Christians from Constantinople, in the sixth and seventh centuries of our era, visited Southern China in great numbers; and, at first, in fact for several generations, their propaganda met with astonishing success, and hundreds upon hundreds of thousands of Chinese were converted. Gradually, the friendly attitude of the officials changed; and, finally, missionaries and converts alike were put to death. The accessible information upon this period of Chinese history is very vague and unsatisfactory; but there is reason to believe that the massacres would never have been ordered had not the Nestorians begun to entertain political aspirations. The massacres were probably ordered for the same reasons which induced Taiko Sama, ten centuries later, to put all the Christians in Japan to death. It was recognized that the teachers from the West taught, not only a philosophy with which no one was inclined

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to quarrel, but a political system which, if generally accepted, would undermine the time-honored institutions of the country.

All this, however, had been forgotten when Marco Polo and the Venetians came to China, and they were exceedingly well received. Father Ricci and the Jesuits of the seventeenth century were entertained at court; and, when Father Ricci died, a monument was erected to him in the streets of Peking, and the epitaph which the Emperor of that day wrote in honor of his friend from the West declared that Ricci was a great and good man, who, in his life, honored all the precepts of a pure morality. For many centuries, the Mohammedans of China have been permitted to worship God according to their own creed. In Peking, their mosque stands upon the edge, if not within the very precincts, of the Purple Forbidden City. The ministers of the Yamen and the highest dignitaries of the Empire pass by that mosque every day; in it, the hoarse prayers of the followers of Mahomet are never hushed; and yet no man can say with truth that, throughout all the centuries, a stone has been thrown at that building or any disrespect, much less violence, shown to those who worship there. In another quarter of Peking, there is a Christian church and a Christian mission which has never been molested in any of the anti-Christian outbreaks. It belongs to the Greek church and has a curious history. Several hundred years ago, in a campaign along the Amur, thousands of Russian soldiers and Siberian colonists were captured and brought to Peking. The Tzar of that day secured permission from the Emperor to send a mission to them, a band of priests charged with the care of the souls of their fellow-countrymen in exile. The descendants of these captives are, for the most part, orthodox Christians to-day. When in Peking last, I saw the head of the mission, and he told me that he and his predecessors had always been protected by the Imperial Government.

The question, then, is inevitable: Why should the Chinese be liberal toward Mohammedans and Eastern Christians, and so fanatical in their persecution of the Christians from the West? To my mind, there are two answers to this question. The Western Christians have never been so fortunate as to convince the Chinese of their complete innocence of political designs. Ninety-nine out of every hundred certainly have been so innocent, and the history of Christianity can show no prouder page than that

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

which is written in the blood of our martyrs in China; but it has always been the hundredth man, whether he was a Frenchman, or an Englishman, or a German, who, by his activity in a narrow, national sense, aroused the slumbering suspicions of the Chinese.

The second reason is the distorted idea which the Chinese have received of the teachings of Christianity. I have often, in China and abroad, asked Chinese of different classes why they will not listen to the wise men from the West. "There is not an ounce of narrow-mindedness," I have ventured to say, "in the philosophy of Confucius, and you admit that you have greatly profited by the teachings of the Brahmans and of the Mendicants of the yellow robe. Then, why not give a hearing to the teachers from the West? It may, for all you know, be good talk."

The Chinese have a way of ignoring questions such as these and directing the conversation into other channels, but a dozen times at least I have had my inquiry answered, and invariably as follows:

"When the wise men of the West came to China we made them heartily welcome, and we listened to what they had to say. We followed them with difficulty because all their thought seemed to be occupied by what is going to happen beyond the grave, and we are convinced, with our sage Confucius, that, since we know so little of life, we cannot hope to know anything of death and what is beyond. But we listened to them patiently; no one can deny that. And, as we listened, we heard your wise men denounce our sages and our teachers, in fact all our ancestors, as false teachers, who, they said, had been consigned after death to the place of lost and wailing spirits, in punishment for their unworthiness. We did not like this. We do not think any people would. Not even the Western people, who do not seem to revere their ancestors as religiously as we do ours in China. But we left them alone. Then they followed us, and found us burning incense before our ancestral tablets, and they mocked us. 'The people you worship and bow down to,' they said, 'are at the bottom of a great pit, and are suffering eternal torture because they paid no heed to the words which they never heard.' Many of us laughed at this—it all seemed so absurd—but some of our younger and more hot-headed men abused your teachers; and sometimes, when they persisted in heaping insults upon our ancestors, we told them to be gone, that we could not tolerate them longer upon the sacred soil they came to desecrate. They said they would not go, and that their Governments would protect them in their work of defaming our ancestors. We thought they were liars and the fathers of liars, but we learned that they spoke the truth. Their Governments did protect them, and coerced our Government into protecting them also. Every now and then, however, one of them is killed. His life is paid for in gold, and the man who killed him in defence of the good name of his

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

people is executed. Do you wonder that we do not care to listen to the teachers from the West?"

I do not wonder, and I have been frequently surprised at the immunity from molestation which the missionaries generally enjoy. The great salient factor of Western Christianity which impresses itself upon the Chinese mind is that we insult the memory of their forefathers and call upon them to do the same. Occasionally, a missionary is killed. He may have fed the starving and healed the sick, but, as a rule, the only phase of his activity which the Chinese understand is that he reviles those whom the Chinese bow down before and worship. People may be driven into the fold by the sword, as they were in the darker ages, and people may be drawn there by argument and the beauty of the philosophy revealed; but no people were ever converted by heaping insults upon their heads and reviling the memory of their ancestors. Of course, there are hundreds of missionaries in China who avoid the question of ancestral worship altogether, because it is very difficult to explain to the Chinese mind why Christians disapprove of it, and in how far they disapprove; but, again, it is the indiscretion, to use a mild word, of the hundredth man that blocks the way, and causes the Chinese to turn a deaf ear to the words of conciliation.

If there is to be peaceful intercourse between us, it is not sufficient to treat the Chinese honestly and honorably; we must impress upon them the fact that we are actuated by lofty motives. I should not like to be compelled to answer whether in the past we have always complied with the first condition, but there is no possibility of doubt that we have failed to fulfill the second. The Chinese are convinced that the Western powers are bandits, held together by the lust of plunder which is common to them all. Many Americans, and not a few who have come into close official contact with the Chinese, are inclined to think that the Chinese divide the Western powers into two classes—one composed of the predatory wolves, Russia, Great Britain, Germany and France; and the other of the mild and gentle United States of America. I do not think this opinion has any foundation in fact, and later on I shall state the reasons for my disbelief.

It would be of immense value, I think, to secure from the Chinese a statement of their grievances. This has never been done; probably it never can be done. I shall only attempt to approximate it. The few Chinamen who can make a coherent state-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ment in English are not Chinese at all; they are Shanghai and Hong Kong Englishmen, who, in acquiring a Western education, have entirely lost the Chinese point of view. There are a few Westerners who have lived all their lives in China, and have, in a very great measure, penetrated the inmost thoughts of the Chinese; but—at least this is my experience—they have invariably lost the power to make a statement which can be understood by the Western mind, and they have lost the Western point of view.

Certainly in America, China, until well on in this present century, was regarded as the Ultima Thule, and not as our great neighbor across the Pacific. This was natural enough, because, instead of following the trail of empire westward to the East, we continued to travel to Asia by the way of Europe and Africa. But, in the early decades of this century, there began to take place changes in our methods of transportation, both by sea and land, which will one day be recognized by our historians as inaugurating the greatest revolution which the world has ever seen. This change in the conditions of travel has been the primary cause of most of the wars and foreign conflicts that mark the story of the century. Suddenly the world, that had been so vast, grew wonderfully small; and, with continents gridironed by railways and full-powered steamers penetrating the farthest seas, the most antagonistic civilization and the hermit nations of the East were brought, very much against their wills, into contact with the enterprise of the West. And the Chinese awoke to find themselves in the very midst of a new world they did not understand.

From time immemorial, the only immediate contact of China with the West was through the traders who resorted to Canton for the purpose of barter. Through Canton, the products of China reached Europe in small quantities many centuries ago; but it is not my purpose to go farther back than the foundation of the Portuguese factory in Macoa and of the depots of the British East India Company along the Canton River. Commercial relations were maintained for many generations, and they were immensely profitable both to the European factors and to the hong merchants of Canton. The footing upon which the Western merchants were admitted to commercial relations with the Chinese was a most humiliating one. In those days, there was not an open door, and our traders did not presume to ask for one. There was only a hole in the Canton wall, through which the slender stream

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of commerce trickled. To this hole in the wall, the Western traders approached very humbly, and through it they passed their goods and received their ounces of silver or the equivalent in silks. But, thirsty for gold, the Western trader swallowed the insults and the humiliations; or rather he paid himself for them by swindling the Eastern merchants, who had not the remotest idea of the value of their products on the Western markets. For one hundred years, the Japanese exchanged goods with the Dutch on a basis of one ounce of gold for four of silver. They were naturally angry when they discovered how they had been over-reached. Such privileges as the Western traders on the Canton River enjoyed in 1820 were not under the sanction of the Imperial Government. It was a provincial arrangement entirely. Generally, the hong merchants were able to corrupt the Viceroy of the day, and so the illicit trade went on. As Canton became more accessible, the appearance in those waters of foreign merchant vessels more frequent, and the hong merchants more wealthy and consequently more powerful, the Cantonese authorities were induced to enter into an agreement with the foreign traders to protect and regulate the trade. It was in this way that the West gained its first foothold in China. There is no reason to believe that the agreement was made with the sanction of the Imperial Government in Peking, and there is much reason for supposing that the first knowledge which the Imperial Government received of it was through the popular outbreaks occasioned by the dissatisfaction at the spread of the use of Indian opium, which had become the principal commodity sold by the Western factors, and by the scarcity of silver, of which the foreign merchants had well nigh drained the country.

To make clear the action of China under these circumstances, it is necessary to take a bird's-eye view of that Eastern world in which China ruled supreme, and which was as far away from contact with and understanding of our civilization as though its seat had been upon the planet Mars. The Middle Kingdom, the eighteen provinces between the four seas, constituted, in the eyes of the Chinese, the civilized world. They knew of the existence of other countries and other peoples, but these countries were wild jungles or waste places, the people savage, and it was the part of wisdom for the Children of Heaven to have just as little to do with them as possible. The great civilizing force that emanated

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

from China, however, could not fail to have some effect upon the outside Barbarians, and these latter gradually, in the Chinese mind, fell into two classes—those who were receptive, and those who were not receptive, of the softening influences of Chinese civilization and culture. The countries occupied by the receptive Barbarians soon became satellites to the Chinese planet. Whatever knowledge they had came from Peking and was gratefully received. At the time of which we are speaking, Chinese law and Chinese civilization not only was accepted by the people of China proper, aggregating, as they do, at least one-quarter of the human family, but by Korea on the northwest, the island kingdoms of Liu Chu in the China Sea, Siam, Burmah and Cochin-China on the south, Tibet and Nepaul on the southwest, Kashgar and Samarkand on the west, and the Mongolian tribes on the north. The relations which existed between China and her satellites are easy to understand, but difficult to define. China was not, in any sense, a suzerain power, nor were the satellites tributary states in the meaning which these words have with us. Mr. Holcombe, for many years acting minister of the United States in Peking, defines the relation as that between an elder brother and younger brothers. Certainly, no tribute was ever exacted, nor was any paid. Presents were exchanged at the New Year and upon the accession of a new sovereign, and congratulatory scrolls at other seasons; but China always gave more than she received; and there is abundant evidence to show that her protection of her lesser neighbors was absolutely unselfish. Japan was the one disturbing element in this otherwise serene world, and even Japan did not ruffle the equanimity of the Chinese as much as she has in later days. So far as we know, she never invaded China proper. Korea was the field of battle, and ultimately Japan was always worsted.

It was into this happy community of fraternal nations that we plunged in 1840, with the awkward grace of the proverbial bull in the china-shop. Naturally, there was a great smashing of crockery. In Canton, there arose troubles and disturbances such as are natural when the traders of antagonistic civilizations, each animated by a desire to swindle the other, come together; and, finally, the Imperial authorities in Peking sent a commissioner to the port to break off all intercourse with the outsiders, not only because the principal commodity received from them was opium,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

but because China regarded the growing trade as an inevitable source of trouble in the near future. One must remember that, by the way of Nepaul and Tibet, news had reached the Peking court of what was transpiring in India. It was known how the humble, little trading post on the Island of Bombay had, in a hundred years, at the expense of the Empire of the Great Mogul, grown into British Hindustan. The Imperial Commissioner acted, doubtless, quite in accordance with his instructions, and he was surprised when the British Government took exception to the course which he pursued. He seized the ships that were waiting to discharge their cargoes, and all the goods of foreigners on sale, and dumped them into the river. Great Britain acted, as she always does, promptly. Her course has been universally denounced, and, as is usually the case, most unsparingly by her own people, yet it is difficult to see how she could have acted otherwise. The question was not whether the property destroyed consisted principally of catties of opium or cases of Bibles; it was whether the Chinese had any right to destroy the property at all. From the Western point of view they certainly had not. The right of the trader to come to Canton had been guaranteed by the Cantonese authorities; and, resting upon these agreements, the Government of Great Britain demanded that an indemnity be paid for the property destroyed. Such a demand had never been made upon the Government of China before. They had had commercial treaties, notably with Siam and Burmah, and they had broken them or denounced them whenever they chose to do so, and Siam and Burmah had never presumed to impugn the high considerations that had induced the Middle Kingdom to take the step. Impressed with the fact that they were acting for the best interests of all concerned and abolishing an abuse which, if tolerated, would lead to serious trouble, China acted as she would have done toward Siam or Burmah; and, when called to account, the Peking Government was not at a loss to defend the action of their commissioner, on the ground that reasons of state and of high morality required him to take the course he did. In the war that ensued, China cut a poor figure. Nanking was besieged, and the Chinese were forced into a treaty by which they formally recognized the rights of the traders, gave England the island of Hong Kong as a depot, and paid, for the property that had been destroyed and as a war indemnity, twenty-one million dollars.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The war of 1860 between the Western Powers and China was the natural sequence of the Opium War. It is quite unnecessary to examine into the immediate, determining causes. In 1842, the Western traders secured a piece of the Chinese pork. It did not satisfy, but only served to whet, their appetites. A year after the treaty of Nanking was signed, the negotiators of the treaty, who thought they had drawn up a clever paper, were openly ridiculed for their pains. At first, Hong Kong did not prosper, and its selection as a commercial depot came to be regarded as a mistake; and then, of course, the single open port of Canton, hampered by innumerable restrictions, was totally inadequate for the trade of the West. "We must have more treaty-ports; we must have substantial concessions, settlements where our people can live under their own flags and be amenable only to their own laws." So the feeling grew from 1842 to 1860. For one man who made a fortune in the China trade, a hundred hungry and unfortunate beggars came out to take his place. There were notable and noble exceptions, whose memory is still fragrant with the Chinese; but it is undeniable that the great majority of these quick fortune-hunters did not allow their efforts to be hampered by any code of morality whatsoever, be it Christian, Confucian, or merely Commercial. The experience of eighteen years of intercourse with the outsiders had only strengthened the Chinese in their original belief, that it would be better for them and for China to have nothing to do with the Barbarians. The Chinese set to work with all their might to stem the irresistible course of events. They opposed the expansion of the Western trade and the opening of new markets, with the result that there ensued another disastrous war, which ended only with the Western Powers in possession of Peking, the Chinese Emperor in flight, his Summer Palace in flames and his artistic collections on their way to fill the museums of Europe and the galleries of private collectors. Then came the treaty, and the two points which the Chinese, though suppliant for peace, most stubbornly contested were the demands of the Western Powers that their ambassadors should be admitted to permanent residence in the capital, and that more treaty-ports be opened to their traders.

To the first demand, the Chinese statesmen protested that they had not the power to protect the life and property of foreigners in Peking, because public opinion was so prejudiced against them.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"You must protect them," replied the Western negotiators; "if a hair of their heads is harmed the lives of your Emperor and your Princes become forfeit." Against more treaty ports and the navigation of the inland waters of China by white traders, for whose advantage it was expressly stipulated that they were not to be considered amenable to Chinese law, the Chinese again protested most vigorously. They said in effect:

"We were of the opinion, when you first came out here, that it was unwise to enter upon closer relations with you. But your leaders were of a different way of thinking, and we allowed ourselves to be convinced, and at your solicitation we consented to the experiment. Now, see the result. For eighteen years we have been constantly embroiled; and now another disastrous war has been fought in which many good men on both sides have lost their lives. This is not the first time that strangers have come to China; but it is the first time that men of your honorable races have come, and now, after twenty years of contact, we have come to the conclusion that we have nothing in common. We do not speak the same language, we worship not the same gods; the color of our skin is different, and our codes of morality are widely opposed. The closer intercourse between us has only brought with it more frequent misunderstandings. The white man never enters upon honorable wedlock with the yellow woman, and the yellow man is not admitted to the society of white women, even of the most humble category. Our point of contact in Canton has occasioned two wars, and we are never at peace. What result can we expect from the opening of more sea ports and the inland rivers other than constant strife? Therefore, we pray you to depart, and we wish you all success and happiness in that part of the world in which you were born."

Might prevailed, of course. The ports and the rivers were opened, and the representatives of the foreign Powers were installed in Peking by force of arms, and by force of arms they have been maintained there ever since. The Chinese line of argument received no attention whatsoever, except from the comic papers of the West. Of course, those authorized to negotiate the treaty endeavored to answer the Chinese arguments, but Sir Harry Parkes, one of the negotiators, confessed that he found it very difficult to do so, because they were so childish and because of the laughter they provoked in the breasts of the Western men present. However, with as serious countenances as they could muster, the envoys of the Powers assured the Chinese that white men and yellow, black men and red, were all one family, all children of God; that the traders from the West did not come to China because they wanted to, but under the compulsion of poverty, to get money with which to feed their wives and children; and they expressed

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

some surprise that men who did honor to the Confucian morality should try and take the bread and butter from the mouths of their white brothers.

Soon the Chinese, who also had wives and children to support, hearing of the money that was to be made in the Western countries, went in considerable numbers to the United States and to Australia, following the same inducements that had brought the Western traders to China. When, for the very same reasons as affected the Western traders in China, their presence became the cause of strife and constant trouble, they were excluded by acts of Parliament and of Congress from entering the Western countries. When the Chinese Government called upon the State Department for an explanation of the Chinese Exclusion Act, the Department replied that the people of the United States had been compelled to discriminate against the Chinese because of a certain "immiscibility" of race that distinguished them. The State Department coined a new word; but the fundamental idea was the same as that which the Chinese advanced in 1842 and 1860, when they were laughed at for the childishness and utter absurdity of their position. The legality of the anti-Chinese legislation being contested, the question was taken to the highest courts, and in 1893 the position of the Chinese negotiator in 1860, Prince Kung, as well as that of our Congressmen in 1882, was pronounced by the Supreme Court of the United States to be based upon the requirements of morality and in accord with the precedents of public law.

The Chinese did not waste any time or fireworks in celebrating their moral victory. They knew it would prove merely academic in its consequences, or rather in its lack of consequences. They felt no safer because the State Department and the Supreme Court upheld their position of 1860. In the course of the intervening years they had become convinced that the white man of the West, as well as the yellow man of the East who accepted his civilization, had but one guiding star of conduct, and that was neither Eastern nor Western morality, but his keen appreciation of what was best for his own immediate material advantage. They recognized that the day when an international dispute could be settled by reference to the Analects of Confucius was over, and they did not try to reinforce their position with apposite citations from the writings of their sages, or by specious promises from the intruders. They bowed to the inevitable and bought quick-firing guns.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The facts which forced the Chinese to the foregoing conclusion, so uncomplimentary to our civilization, are not far to seek, though they are not made unduly prominent by Western writers and are rarely mentioned by the Chinese themselves. Until the steal of Shan-tung by Germany, the Chinese regarded the French as the most utterly perverse of the outside barbarians. At first they, too, had come to the hole in the Canton wall—China's sorrow, as her statesmen think, through which has come more harm to the children of Han than by all the floods of the Yellow River. They only wanted to trade, they protested; yet, despite their promises and assertions, out of the Chinese world, in one short cycle of Cathay, the French have carved their Indo-China empire, comprised of Cochin-China, Cambodia, Annam, Tonking and half of Siam. The deposed or imprisoned kings of these countries, while they no longer send handsome New Year's presents to Peking (they are too poor), have, there is no doubt, given their cousins of the Manchu dynasty full accounts of their experiences. Samarcand has become a Russian province; Burmah and Ava British. Germany has seized Shan-tung, a province right out of the heart of the sacred soil of China proper, and the Chinese ministers abroad have submitted maps to the Emperor and the Privy Council on which the Empire is divided up and distributed among the predatory Powers.

The reasons which the Western Powers who have participated in this spoliation of China adduce, not in defence of their conduct —for they hold it requires none—but in explanation of it, do not appeal to the Chinese mind. The Western Powers maintain that they were compelled to interfere in the internal affairs of China to preserve law and order; to which the Chinese reply that law and order had reigned for hundreds of years, and was only disturbed by the coming of the barbarians. The Chinese still hold that nations, like individuals, have a perfect right to choose their associates in business or in pleasure. When they declined to trade with us, they think we should have immediately withdrawn from their world, perhaps protesting as we did so, to save our "face," that we did not care to trade with them. And so there would have been an end of the matter.

In spite of some evidence to the contrary, the Chinese maintain that their expansion south of the Yangtze was the result of accretion and not of conquest or colonization. There are to be

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

found, however, many instances in the history of China which show that her statesmen have appreciated what might be called the exigencies of *noblesse oblige,* and that they have recognized the duty of the paramount power to maintain law and order in the adjacent countries as well as within her own boundaries. The most notable illustration of the fact that the Chinese do not hold with our anti-imperialists that the Dyaks of Borneo have an inalienable right to pursue head-hunting, and the Bolo-men of Luzon to run amuck, is to be found in their intervention in Formosa for the suppression of piracy about 1650. It was a disagreeable task, this policing of Formosan ports and waters. In two hundred and fifty years her Formosan sovereignty cost China millions, and many thousands of men, but she never contemplated a policy of national convenience and "scuttle," though she was undoubtedly only too glad to relinquish her task to the more vigorous hands of Japan in 1895. In a word, then, what China objects to is not the police work which the English are doing in the Malay Peninsula and Borneo, the United States in the Philippines and the Dutch in Java and Sumatra, but that criterion of civilization formulated by the German Emperor which places them on the same level as the man-hunting Malays.

When we look upon the attack upon our Legations in Peking and the subsequent siege to which our representatives and their families have been subjected as an isolated fact, it seems to be the most outrageous proceeding that modern history has had to record. I am conscious of having said, when the first news of the indiscriminate slaughter of our people reached us, the people whose bread I had broken, whose hospitality I had enjoyed, to many of whom I was bound by the ties of close friendship, that China had placed herself outside the pale of civilization. I would not say so now, and the fact that the slaughter has been less than was announced has nothing to do with my change of opinion. It is due to an impartial examination of the essential facts in the history of our intercourse with China for the last sixty years. In doing as they have done, in turning their guns not only upon the foreign ministers but upon Sir Robert Hart, the man who for thirty years has been their best friend and most honorable counsellor, the Chinese have committed an act of egregious folly; yet I am convinced that, should he escape their bullets and survive, Sir Robert Hart will say that they succumbed to a provocation which might

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

well have disturbed the equilibrium of a race under better self-control.

The Chinese have recognized how sacred is the person of a public minister from time immemorial, and very rarely has a properly accredited envoy been molested within their borders; but they draw a distinction between ministers who are forced upon them and those they are willing to receive. The representatives of the Western Powers in Peking belong to the former category. The Chinese have never withdrawn their protest against the presence of these ministers in the capital of the Empire; it has only been drowned in musketry fire. "We cannot protect your envoys," they said. "The people of Peking will not accept your representatives as envoys of peace, and they will not treat them with honor and respect, as they do the envoys from Korea and Nepaul, because they regard them as heralds of war and military spies, whose duty it is to inform their governments when the opportune moment has come for a campaign of spoliation." They have asked, time and again, that the Legations might at least be removed to a seaport, and they have pointed to the example of Morocco, where the foreign missions remain at Tangier and only go up to the capital every three or four years.

If the attack upon the foreign ministers had been made by the Boxers alone, the Chinese, in view of their protest and confession of weakness which is on file in every Foreign Office of the Western world, would have considered themselves, morally at least, in no wise responsible for the consequences. They knew, of course, that the Powers would hold them responsible, and they probably endeavored to protect the Legations until the Throne was in danger. Then, charity beginning at home, with the Chinese as with other people, they stepped aside; or perhaps, under the pressure of circumstances, the Imperial authorities even took an active part in the attacks and the siege.

Of course, I have no means of knowing what the Chinese think of us in the light of these more recent events. Their point of view has not been even touched upon in the numerous and exhaustive cablegrams and letters which have reached us since the situation became acute, though the Tsung-li-Yamen have made it very plain that the attacks which "bandits and robbers" made upon the Legations were subsequent to the bombardment and capture of the Taku forts by the Powers, and in consequence of that ill-advised

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

step. Following out the line of thought which I have pursued in the preceding pages, it is, however, not difficult to make a picture of the events in Peking somewhat as Chinese eyes see them.

A strange secret society was spreading over the northern provinces—always the prelude of revolution in China. It was in this way the Taiping rebellion began in 1850. The object of its propaganda no one outside the society seems to have known very clearly. The Imperial Clan thought it was directed against the Manchu dynasty; the missionaries against the Christian work; the traders said it was a menace to trade. At all events, Mr. Conger, in his dispatch which left Peking only a few days before the Legations were besieged, said he was satisfied that the Government was at last alive to the danger of the situation, and doing what it could to stay the spread of the organization. Chinese methods are very strange in our sight, and it is quite conceivable that the Government appeared to favor the Boxers while planning their overthrow; certain it is, however, that Mr. Conger, after a long audience with the ministers of the Tsung-li-Yamen, took an optimistic view of the situation, and in his last dispatch to the State Department put on paper his opinion that the worst was over. A few days later, and before the Chinese Government had committed any overt act to which we could take exception, at a moment when, so far as we know, nothing had happened to change Mr. Conger's opinion that the Government was doing what it could to save the situation, the foreign naval commanders, in council off the mouth of the Pei Ho River, sent an ultimatum to the Chinese commander at Taku, demanding the evacuation of the forts that had been confided to his keeping; and, while his troops were to march out unmolested, his cannon and his munitions of war were to be left in the hands of the Powers. At this time, both telegraphic and railroad communication with Peking, a hundred miles away, had been destroyed by the rioters, and the last news which had come through was a rumor, since unhappily verified, that the German minister had been assassinated on his way from the Legation to the Foreign Office. The Western naval commanders seem to have acted in hot blood and on the spur of the moment. All their thought was of the unfortunate Ketteler, and not of his widow and the thousand and odd almost defenceless men, women and children who were shut up in the city, where the power to protect them was manifestly so weak.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It is absolutely necessary to an understanding of what followed to bear in mind the true sequence of events. An examination of the inflammatory articles in Western papers, without distinction as to nationality, would lead one to suppose that the bombardment was an answer to the unprovoked assault upon the Legations. The official information that has reached us shows quite the contrary to have been the case. The report of the murder of Baron von Ketteler reached Tientsin on June 16th. The naval commanders of the Western Powers ordered the bombardment of the Taku forts on June 17th. On the same day, news reached Tientsin that the German marines, on learning of Von Ketteler's death, attacked and burnt down the Chinese Foreign Office, a pretty high-handed proceeding under any provocation, certainly an act not calculated to convince the Chinese that we always conform to the requirements of public law. The information which has reached us from many sources is identical upon one point. The first attack upon the British Legation was made on June 19th, two days after the bombardment of Taku and the burning of the Chinese Foreign Office by the German marines.

It is pleasant to be able to record here that the American admiral refused to concur in the action of his colleagues, and stated that he thought their ultimatum not only without justification in public law, but suicidal in policy. The sequel has shown how right he was. There is nothing in the recent history of the American navy of which we have more reason to be proud than the wise and discreet behavior of Admiral Kempff.

The Chinese commander very properly replied to the ultimatum, that he would not give up the forts except upon the order of his Government, and that it was not possible for him to obtain instructions from Peking within the time allowed. When the foreign ships moved into position to carry out their threat to bombard, he opened fire first. It was his right to do so, and it was good fighting tactics, too. In a few hours, the forts were reduced to ruins, and such of the garrison as escaped the bombardment were cut down by the landing parties. Few of the Taku soldiers reached Peking; but those who did had a tale of horror to tell, even if they confined themselves to a strict recital of the truth, which, under the circumstances, it is allowable to doubt.

The news that a couple of thousand Chinese had been blown to pieces, and an Imperial fortress destroyed, reached Peking at a

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

moment when an announcement of a less startling character would have sufficed to destroy the balance of power between the Government and the revolutionists. It is conceivable that the people of Peking, without distinction of party or of class, experienced, at this moment, the same feelings of horror and indignation which found expression in every capital and in every hamlet of Christendom when the news came that our people had been massacred in Peking. They thought of nothing but revenge, and they threw themselves upon our Legations like wolves. It is very probable that the Government did nothing to help the besieged, and that their salvation up to the present is due entirely to the stout hearts of the men who manned the fragile walls behind which, for weeks, gentle women have cowered, a prey to fears more horrible than death. But, if the conduct of the Chinese was in flagrant violation of international law, it must also be remembered that their provocation was great, and that the first act of savagery, for as yet we know none of the details of the murder of Baron von Ketteler, came from our side. It is more than probable that Baron von Ketteler was killed by some native of Shan-tung, who saw in him only the representative of the people who had stolen his home and hoisted a foreign flag over it. It is also possible that the murder was a personal matter. Some years ago, the Secretary of the United States Legation in Tokyo was assassinated as he was returning from the Japanese Foreign Office. It turned out that there had been some serious personal differences between Mr. Heusken and a Japanese, and that the latter had taken this way, not entirely unknown in some parts of America, of settling the dispute once for all. The Japanese Government appreciated the gravity of the situation, and the question was soon settled in a manner which did credit to all concerned; but, of course, we had not in the meantime complicated matters by bombarding Yokohama or Nagasaki. While this may have been the fate of Baron von Ketteler, for all we know to the contrary, it is more than probable that in ordering the occupation of Shan-tung, without any excuse or justification except that he had the power to maintain his position there, the German Emperor signed the death-warrant of his talented minister, who, incidentally it should be said, had no hand in the Shan-tung deal whatever.

We have come to the parting of the ways in our relations with China. A moment of thoughtlessness or of indecision, and we

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

may be involved in a war which would tax the resources of Christendom. The event is not entirely in our hands, and there is the danger. The President made our position very clear before sending troops to China, and in doing so he has not pleased the predatory Powers. He has sent troops to protect our envoy and our citizens, to enforce our treaty rights, and not to carve up China. The Chinese, however, are not given to subtle distinctions in foreign affairs, and they see no difference between those who interfere with them for trade advantages or for territorial concessions. Indeed, they rather think the apparent division of the Powers on matters of policy is part of their game. If the expedition to the relief of the Peking Legations should fail—which is quite possible—we would probably not have the option of making peace or war with China. China would make war upon us, and we would have to accept the gage of battle whether we wanted to or not.

If the Western Powers determine upon the conquest of China, if they decide that the peace of the world demands that the Chinese civilization shall be crushed or converted, as that of the murderous Malays has been, for instance, we cannot stop them, though, unhappily, the United States will inevitably become involved in the consequences of such a step.

This being the case, we have an undoubted right to insist that the predatory Powers count the cost of their war of spoliation and weigh carefully the consequences of defeat and failure, as they will affect our own interests as well as theirs.

China has often been conquered, but the Chinese have never been vanquished. They have never failed to assimilate their conquerors in the course of a few succeeding generations. The Golden Horde of Kublai Khan, the Mongols and the Manchus have all become Chinese, and their conquest of China was not a matter of two or three campaigns, but the result of wars which lasted hundreds of years.

Their acquaintance with us has taught the Chinese the advantage of unity; and it may be said that, *vis-a-vis* to the foreign devils, all who dwell in the eighteen provinces between the four seas are brothers. Once the Powers begin their career of conquest, they cannot draw back, for reasons of policy, if for no other. In this war, we know already, there is to be no repetition of the military promenade of the Anglo-French forces to Peking in 1860. Then we captured the capital of China, and no more attention was

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

paid to the expedition by the vast majority of the Chinese than a sleeping man pays to a fly walking over his face. The conditions are very different now. The Chinese have learned their lesson. The Chinese do not intend to submit any longer to the international bullies, and they have lost all the provinces they mean to lose, by trickery at least. The most surprising of the recent events is the way in which the Chinese have entered upon an offensive campaign in the north. They have crossed the Amoor and have captured Russian towns, and, for a time at least, cut off all communication between Eastern Siberia on one side and Trans-Baikalia on the other.

It is not only that all the improvements of modern warfare favor the combatant holding the inside line. It is a fact that the defensive position of the Chinese is much stronger than it was in 1860. The defeat, almost a disaster, which overtook Admiral Seymour's column may be but the prelude to still more costly experiences. Since 1860, the Chinese have built a telegraph system which practically reaches all the provinces. It is worked and controlled entirely by Chinese. To supplement it, there is a very perfect courier system under the War Department, by means of which Imperial orders are carried through the country at the rate of two hundred miles a day. The Chinese have arsenals and forges, at which, without foreign assistance or supervision, they can, and do, make very serviceable rifles, and turn out many tons of ammunition a day. They could, I believe, continue to produce these munitions of war indefinitely, even if all Christendom were leagued against them. Bitter experience teaches us that it is hard to combine all the Christian traders against the barbarian, as long as he has money and is willing to pay. The military problems to be solved in an invasion of China cannot be overrated. The fall of Peking would have no effect on the war, once the Chinese are satisfied that this time the Western Powers mean to hold the land they conquer. There are in China a dozen cities in which the Imperial Government could be established without an appreciable loss of prestige. The war, if fought to a finish, would carry the armies of the Western Powers into central China, and there the difficulties of transportation and of sustenance would prove well nigh insuperable. The most striking illustration of our want of preparation for the campaign of conquest into which the European Powers are drifting, and from which we will suffer, whether we

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

participate in it or not, is furnished by the apostle of the crusade, the Emperor William himself. Two months after calling the Powers together to a holy war, and announcing that China must be subdued and all the Chinese slaughtered to make room for Western culture, he lands three hundred men in Tientsin to make good his word and to help to do the work. Three hundred men are not a drop in the bucket. Three hundred men could not maintain law and order in one ward of Tientsin, once the Chinese are satisfied we have come to stay. Further, the Tientsin reports tell us that the German contingent, hardly more than a corporal's guard as it is, has arrived without suitable equipment. It may, however, be true, as the Berlin correspondents announce, that the Emperor, always thoughtful and considerate, has sent out by the German mail three hundred stomach-protectors for his soldiers in Asia. This is not a tropical war, and stomach-protectors are not worn in Northern China except by those who find it advisable to wear them everywhere. It is very cold comfort the German contingent will get out of their stomach-protectors. The valley of the Pei Ho is as cold as any place in the world, and, if the stomach-protectors are not reinforced by sheepskin jackets, buffalo sleeping robes and jack-boots lined with flannel before November 15th, His Imperial Majesty's crusaders will be frozen to death. It is undoubtedly true that he has presented Count von Waldersee with what the Berlin papers describe as a "tropical war-costume," similar, but with improvements, to the one which the Emperor wore in Palestine. Since he is to have command over our troops, it is to be hoped that the German Field-Marshal goes to the war better equipped in other respects than he is in the matter of clothing.

And once China is conquered and parcelled out among the Powers, our troubles will not be over—they will only have begun. The Yellow Peril has many phases, and they are not all imaginary. The Russian Government has grave fears on this subject, as I had an opportunity to learn during my visit to Eastern Siberia and the Amoor provinces in 1896. Despite the sturdy fibre of their race, every now and then "yellow" spots, as they are called, it is not necessary to enter into details, appear in the Cossack *stanitzas* which line the north bank of the river. The Russians regard them as an illustration of the sinister power which a compact family of four hundred million people exert upon neighbors of low social efficiency, and they ask themselves what will happen when the river

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is crossed, and, no longer in rival camps, the Russians and the Chinese live together in one community. With arms in hand, the Russians rather underestimate the Yellow Peril; but they seem to fear—and not without reason, I think—the Chinese policy of assimilation that comes with peace. They remember that China is a sea which has salted all the rivers that have run into it; that, sooner or later, the Chinese have conquered all their conquerors.

This is where the old policy has landed us. Why not inaugurate a new? We have always treated the Chinese as though they were without feelings, and without vanity, pride or combativeness; and yet every one who knows them will tell you they have all of these qualities. When we are in a position to exact the punishment of the men who fired upon our Legations, whether they be princes of the Clan, or Boxers, let us listen to what the Chinese will have to say about the bombardment of the Taku forts. It will be a new departure, and it might work wonders. We might "civilize" the Chinese by showing them some consideration and treating them with common decency. The old policy of knocking the Chinese over the head has not brought satisfactory results—they have too many heads. A common ground might be reached by admitting, for instance, that it is as possible for Western admirals as for Eastern princes and wild sectaries to do, in hot blood, things they never would have been guilty of upon mature consideration. If we do this, there will be no danger of war, and we shall be spared a conflict into which no one who knows what it may come to mean can think of entering with a light heart.

STEPHEN BONSAL.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED